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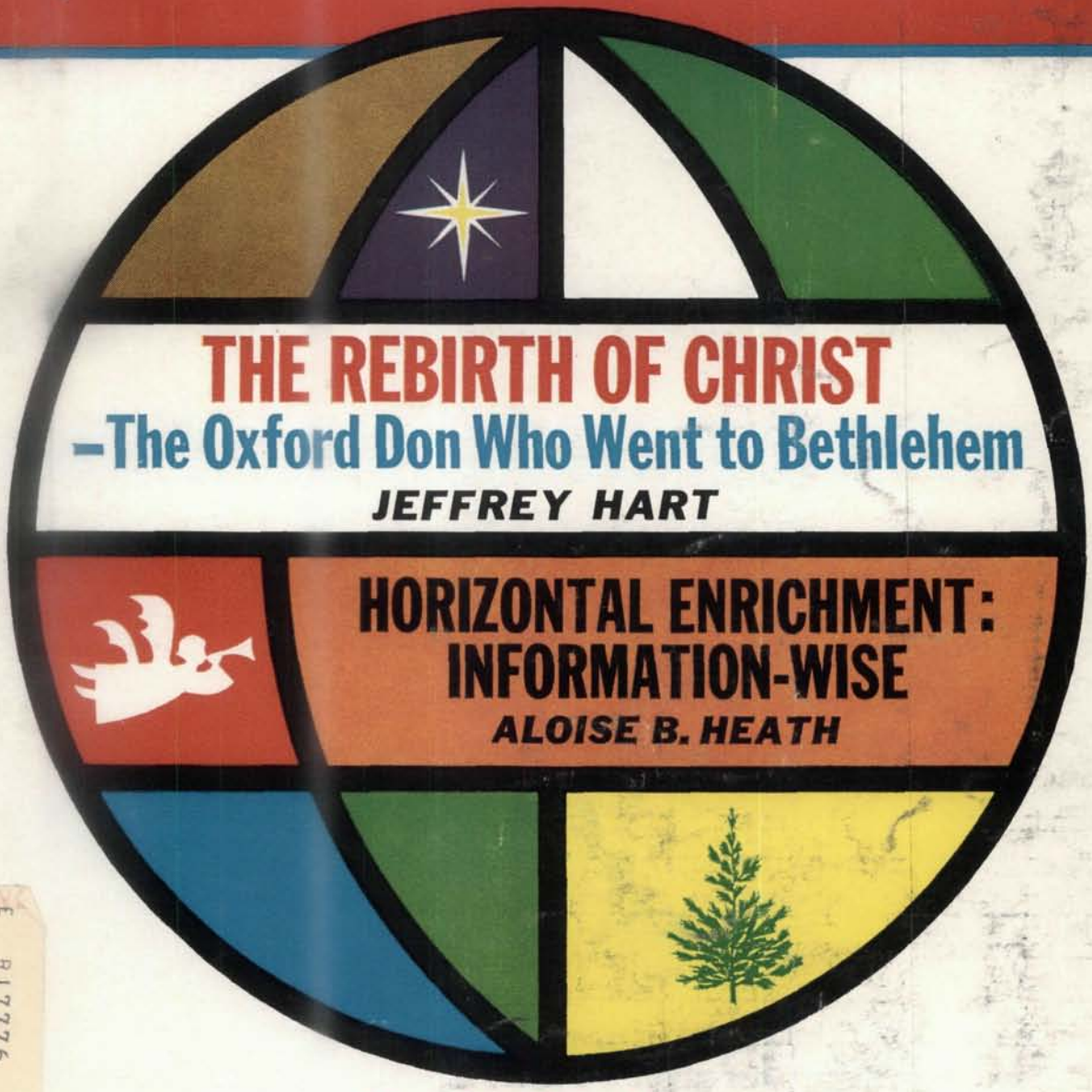
DECEMBER 28, 1965

NATIONAL REVIEW

A Journal of Fact and Opinion



THE REBIRTH OF CHRIST
–The Oxford Don Who Went to Bethlehem
JEFFREY HART

HORIZONTAL ENRICHMENT: INFORMATION-WISE
ALOISE B. HEATH

Also In This Issue:

GARRY WILLS ON GEORGE BERNARD SHAW ♦ WM. F. BUCKLEY JR. ON THE REASONING OF NORMAN THOMAS ♦ WHAT NOT TO SEE AT THE MOVIES BY RICHARD HODGENS ♦ ALSO BURNHAM, TULLOCK

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In This Issue . . .

➔ which is a bit of a gem, don't you think? we pay our respects to the Christmas season, in tones varying from merry to reverential. Prof. **Jeffrey Hart** contributes a nobly sustained discourse on the Christian philosophizing of the late C. S. Lewis, and on the strange circumstance that the theological works of a Cambridge don should become worldwide best-sellers even within his lifetime. And there is hope: a century and a half ago, the advanced thinkers were non-Christian, post-Christian, or anti-Christian; the advanced thinkers of the present day are avowedly and eloquently Christian. Mr. Hart is presently at work on a biography of Lewis for Arlington House. . . . Worse than Christmas without Santa Claus would be a Christmas issue of *NR* without a word from **Aloise B. Heath,** who is now holding forth on the books that are available as gifts. Most of the titles are 1965 vintage, suggesting that this is *not* Mrs. Heath's 1964 Christmas piece a year late. . . . The everbright spirit of **William von Dreele** transforms a handful of Great Society monsters into lilting leprechauns of rhyme. Mr. von Dreele is, on the other hand, a familiar of computers, with one of the Large Corporations. They say he can make an IBM 700 sing.

➔ **Wm. F. Buckley Jr.,** back from a short swing around the lecture circuit, mulls over the things Mr. Norman Thomas tried to get away with saying the other night at Lehigh University, and concludes that Mr. Thomas should have paid stricter attention, five years ago, when another *NR* editor attempted to get him to stop defending the Castro regime. Only now it's Vietnam. . . . And Vietnam, argues **James Burnham,** is in reality not Vietnam but Lilliput, where the gigantic U.S.-Gulliver may be immobilized by the little hopping legions of anti-war agitators.

➔ George Bernard Shaw left a mountain of letters behind, and Prof. **Garry Wills** weaves a neat essay around a collection of those from the early years. Versatile, competent, productive, popular, engaging, Shaw nevertheless fell short of being a believable human being. Wills has something to say about how Shaw contrived one of the century's more brilliant under-achievements. . . . Prof. **Gordon Tullock** reviews a book on ombudsmen (those civil servants who justify, when they cannot circumvent, the ways of bureaucracy, in behalf of the citizens), having most recently published *The Politics of Bureaucracy,* a study of the kind of thing ombudsmen should look into. . . . Mr. **J. Daniel Mahoney,** one of the founders of New York's Conservative Party, and a practicing lawyer, reviews a book of essays by Judge Wyzanski, the courtroom stickler for etiquette who sanctions Liberal hoodlumism in constitutional matters. . . . The noted movie critic, Mr. **Richard Hodgens,** takes note of nine recent flicks, of which 1.5 are acceptable, and the other 7.5 vary from ho-hum to it never shudda happened.

➔ This last issue of *NR* to carry the 1965 publication date includes an index covering everything identifiable, which of course doesn't include everything memorable, published in NATIONAL REVIEW this year. The pleasure was ours. ➔

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To the Editor

The New Isolationists

Praise to the refreshing clarity of the article in denunciation of the Vietniks [Dec. 14]. These open-minded, noble Liberals, concerned for freedom and peace, seem to have adopted non-intervention almost as a principle in itself, and, more interestingly, a Liberal principle. It had seemed to me that it was Liberals who were traditionally the the "anti-isolationists," the ones who thought that if another country were attacked it was everyone's business . . .

Erie, Pa. JOHN B. DONOVAN

Penkovsky or 'Penkovsky'?

"In This Issue" [*NR*, Dec. 14] declares that "James Burnham believes the astounding Penkovsky papers are manifestly authentic." This needs such qualification as was made in my column, which mentioned cuts and probable "additions," and concluded only that "for the most part the text would seem to be the genuine article." Controversy on this point has become extensive and very sharp. Victor Zorza, Soviet specialist for the *Manchester Guardian,* has mounted an elaborate attack on the papers, supporting on the whole the Moscow charge that they are a CIA forgery; Peter Deriabin—the former Soviet intelligence officer who defected in Vienna in 1954, and who is named as the person who received and translated the papers—has replied with an uncompromising defense. "I know," he writes, "better than anyone, that the papers are genuine, but I also know that there is no way to prove this to the satisfaction of those determined to degrade Penkovsky's legacy as the Soviets sought to degrade Penkovsky." Deriabin declares (understandably, whether the papers are genuine or fake): "I will not, however, reveal how the papers came to me." Edward Crankshaw, the well-known English specialist in Soviet history who wrote the Foreword to the papers, is also having his say. We move here in a region of perpetual twilight.

Kent, Conn. JAMES BURNHAM

Sowing Doubt

As a graduate of St. Michael's College in Vermont I read Brent Bozell's article on their attempt to establish a dialogue with Communism [Dec. 14] with much interest but little surprise. I was pleased to see that the student body now, as it was in my time, is loyal to its Christian heritage. But some of the faculty now, as it was then, are still apparently fascinated by those who live in the red-light districts of the intellectual world.

For instance, back in 1951, I enrolled in an education course called "Principles of Learning." The textbook we used in this school, administered by men who have devoted their lives to God, stated that there was no God. In fact there were no absolute values at all. What we call absolute truths, this book maintained, are merely persistent values or ideas; that is, they change so slowly that they seem immutable and absolute to each generation.

I took this book to my religion professor, a good and devout priest. He was shocked that such a book was being used at St. Michael's, and took it to Dr. Dupont, the Dean of Studies and now the President of St. Michael's. To the shock of this good priest, Dr. Dupont refused to do anything about it. He came out of Dr. Dupont's office, sadly shaking his head and saying, "I just don't understand the man."

May I add that neither do I, nor do I understand any of this "new breed" of priests who seem to have adopted as their motto, "Where there is Faith, let me sow Doubt."

New York, N.Y. ANDREW J. MCCAULEY

Hart on Conservatism

Jeffrey Hart, in his admirable *A Decade of Modern Conservatism* [Nov. 30], errs when he describes latent conservative ideas appearing like photographic images "when subjected to the acids of the developing bath." Developing fluid—like the Liberal philosophy that provokes conservative ideas—is characteristically base.

Santa Barbara, Cal. ED LIME

Having, alas (moan, sob, groan), digested that quipnotic [Nov. 30] issue, I read in depth Jeffrey Hart's *A Decade of Modern Conservatism,* and feel compelled to record my own "American dissent."

Hart's piece seems to contend, in part, that there exists almost complete Negro endorsement of a social amalgam with White America, especially in New York. I for one do not wish such an amalgam—but rather, the right of pre-judgment, which to me seems much more a "right" than that upheld in *Brown* v. *Board of Education,* as Hart so aptly shows us. And to pre-judge (without fear of "prejudice") I must have some idea of a man's thoughts, his isms, philosophy and the things he holds dear. I have a desire to know a man's heart—its valor and honesty (and, much more important, its lies and fears). A single act, just one, well done, will tell me more about him than going to his "all-white school" or knowing "What Color is God?" or whether he has a James Bond-type car, credentials, and diploma. For *color* and *amalgam* are quasi-euphemisms when inferred by a skillful dialectician like Hart. But to me, they are just the superficial trivia we surround our glow-betweens with.

New York, N.Y. MICHAEL A. WATKINS

Freedom 'for Free'?

Gordon Chamberlain, of Berkeley, has a letter in your Tenth Anniversary Issue in which he protests the comparison of indenture and slavery. His point is quite clear—in an ideal world there are no restraints on the individual.

The question is how you settle a continent, occupied by hostile tribes, if you don't draw on the human resources of other continents. The British were reasonably ingenious in the Seventeenth century. They dumped their jailbirds, their imprisoned debtors, and just about any other warm body they could find, and left them on the North American shore. In each case, the constraints imposed tended to be a function of the ability of the individual to rise to the requirements of the pioneer life. The great burden of the responsible pioneers was the unadapted, unprepared, and unskilled person who had to be tended, fed, directed, nursed and instructed in the ways of the difficult world.

The degrees of constraint permitted the founders to settle a continent. The basic equation of the founders was the equation of freedom and responsibility; neither can exist independently. Mr. Chamberlain seems to think that freedom is "for free." But every single degree of freedom that is won, and perhaps more today than ever, is paid for. And in this age of Liberalism, only the young, Liberal, and irresponsible have freedom—the others are burdened by constraints. The new equation is quite different: the state tends to insure that only the irresponsible are free.

Washington, D.C. PYRRHO

Churchill and Welfare

By citing Sir Winston Churchill himself, Mr. Anthony Lejeune [Nov. 30] could have emphasized the generally unknown but predominant role played by the Conservative Party of England in sponsoring and passing social reforms which cumulatively ended in the Welfare State. It was Sir Winston who said in 1943: "You must rank me and my colleagues as strong partisans of national compulsory insurance for all classes for all purposes from the cradle to the grave" (Peter Goldman in *The Welfare State*)

Naperville, Ill. EDWARD PALMER, M.D

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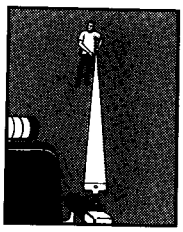

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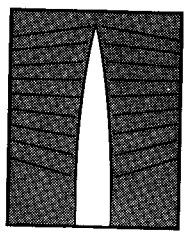

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Call It Revolution

I, unlike yourselves, did not find the quotes taken from the *Peace Corps News* ["The Week," Nov. 16], to be self-condemning.

Implications are hard to fight because of their very non-statement, but your use of the quotes to sketch a volunteer, or the organization, as a self-important, glassy-eyed visionary, ignorant of ugly political realities and liable to be found inadvertently getting bearded hordes to swarm from the hills, was silly. Call it whatever you want, basically it's revolution that we are after.

ROBERT FERRARO
Peace Corps Volunteer
Republic of Panama

Agreed. But does Washington know?—ED.

Paging Subscribers

Recently I received your gift certificate form and included on the list a gentleman to whom I gave a subscription last year. This satisfied a business obligation but has also given us many happy hours discussing the merits of NATIONAL REVIEW. As an afterthought I asked a young friend of mine to project the circulation of your magazine using as a basis that all subscribers give a subscription to a friend each year. It seems the year 1973 comes exactly eleven years before 1984, which might be enough time to save the Republic.

Boston, Mass. JOHN H. GOLL

Saving the Private Schools

I believe that Russell Kirk voiced the opinion of many deeply concerned Americans who wish to see private colleges continue in their fine tradition of a high standard of education [Nov. 16].

As a senior in high school, I do not welcome the day when the private college will be considered a novelty rather than a real necessity. Our whole educational system in America today *owes* its roots to those colleges which it is trying to abolish.

Montour Falls, N.Y. JOSEPH FAGNANI

Freedom and Bondage

I must thoroughly disagree with Mr. E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn's and the Philadelphia Society's hopes for a Humanism-Theism synthesis for the conservative movement [Nov. 2].

Quite probably the only true lesson to be learned from a study of Western ideas is that thinkers and their writings fall into one of two groups—that of Bondage or of Freedom.

Bondage Theory—which many conservatives would and do shy away from —is in my analysis the only theory modern conservatism can call its own: the theory has many facets but does reveal a pattern from Augustine to Burke to Kirk.

Freedom Theory—to which conservatism thinks it belongs—is in fact, contrary to its very innards. It is my contention that Freedom Theory is, by its philosophic texture, the only theory to which modern Liberalism can owe allegiance (Milton Friedman and his libertarianism to the contrary). Thus Aristotle can influence Aquinas who can influence Locke who influences Marx. Somehow we find Mailer in this camp with his "cool" Freedom and pragmatic socialism.

I once threw out my Bondage-Freedom distinction to a group of diligent stu-

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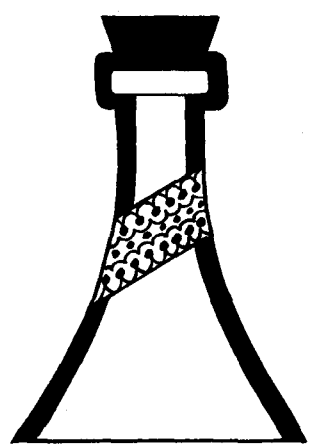

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dents at an upstate junior college. The problem I posed to the class was fairly simple in structure and intention. Divide the history of ideas into two groups (i.e. Bondage and Freedom). Next, take a thinker and quickly categorize the philosophic nub of his ideas.

My students liked the challenge and we got results like this:

Bondage — Plato, Augustine, Burke, Chesterton, Belloc, Eliot, Pound, Kirk, Ortega y Gasset. . . .

Freedom—Aristotle, Aquinas, Locke, Rousseau, Jefferson. . . . Mailer, Hemingway. . . .

(It's obvious that the lists get larger and larger as point-counterpoint upon fabric and texture is reached. Thus a Freedomite like Jefferson yields a Bondage man like Hamilton.)

The pattern shown in the Bondage camp and in fact the contention of this letter is this: bondage theory always takes into account an absolutism—an "idea" of Platonism or a traditional Christian "God" society like Chesterton's or T.S. Eliot's. Bondage theory is antimaterialistic. At one end of the spectrum it is aristocratic in a philosophic sense (Plato) and at the other end it is aristocratic in a religious and political sense (Burke). But its concern is never with a person or with people *in vacuo* unless accompanied by something much higher.

Freedom Theory is the opposite of an absolutistic Bondage Theory: it is skeptical in orientation with roots no deeper that Naturalism in an older, Lockean sense, and process-chaos in the modish, positivistic sense. This is why today's Liberal can talk Locke and Wittgenstein, yet claim with complete sincerity that Ortega leaves him cold.

Goldwater's candidacy, it seems to me, was complete contradiction, since it was based on a type of freedom a tradition-loving, Bondage-oriented Burkean could never really understand. Milton Friedman working for Goldwater is appropriate. Russell Kirk and a few other *NR* staffers working for Goldwater is not.

Hence the Philadelphia Society's ecumenism in the cause of conservatism is ridiculous to these eyes.

Pine Plains, N.Y. ENRICO G. PEPPE

SOLUTION TO LAST ISSUE'S TRANS-O-GRAM (Dec. 14)
Gen. Douglas MacArthur
Reminiscences

In Korea, Communism had hurled its first challenge to war against the free world . . . . This was a battle against imperialistic Communism . . . . The history of the world has taught from the beginning of time: . . . timidity breeds conflict, and courage often prevents it.

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HOW MUCH MONEY DID YOU MAKE IN 1965?

When you do your taxes, ask yourself if you will be in a better boat **next** December? **Why** didn't you do as well as you could have? Which steps are you taking for improvement? If the answer is "none," **that's** why you probably won't do better in 1966.

Maybe you recovered late from the 1962 crash before returning to the bull market. Or, possibly the stock market isn't doing as well as appears—plenty of stocks are now near their lows. Perhaps you're in the wrong stocks, because of lack of vital information (incidentally, the market couldn't care **less** whether you "have time" to study it—learn that). Analyze **how** you selected your stocks; did you go from specific to general—or, did you **first** judge market direction, **then** select the best groups, **then** choose the best stock in that group? Always move from general to specific.

Plan ahead. Are you replacing blue-chips with speculatives? **Why?** And for how long? Do you have a habit of riding a stock up, fail to take profits, and **then ride it down?** What are you doing to prevent such losses? The only thing worse than a bad plan is **no plan at all!**

Did you get stuck with stocks like Brunswick, Vendo, Universal Match, Transitron, Comsat and Control Data? Would "stops" **correctly used** have gotten you out? How about AT&T—do you know it now yields what it did at its 1929 high, and how important is that?

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The WEEK

● *"Washington,* Dec. 13 (UPI)—About a dozen pieces of jewelry valued at more than $5,000 were stolen from the hotel room of John A. McCone." Sounds like one of those CIA jobs we've been hearing about.

● "How do you get to the White House?" the joke went in 1961. "Go to Harvard and turn Left." As in all good jokes there was a deal of truth in it. Not only had the President recruited three of Harvard's stellar lights: Arthur Schlesinger Jr., historian-laureate; John Galbraith, public economist; McGeorge Bundy, dean of deans. He turned Washington into a Mecca for intellectuals, who abandoned the leading Eastern universities and foundations literally by the hundreds to take posts on the White House staff, in the State Department, in the executive agencies and bureaus. Last week, McGeorge Bundy, last of the Kennedy intimates, announced his resignation, ending the Era of the Intellectual in the White House. The young men who have pushed out the Schlesingers, Sorensens, Goodwins, Hellers, and Bundys are energetic young Westerners, curried by the U. of Texas and Texas A. and M., and bearing the LBJ brand.

● The Republican Party Coordinating Committee, a semi-official sanhedrin of governors, congressmen, and GOP bigwigs, has issued an empty thunderclap against "radical and extremist" groups while refraining from naming the largest R & E donors to the GOP. Farther along in the manifesto there was a sensible proposal to quarantine North Vietnam and make "maximum use of conventional American air and sea power" against North Vietnamese military targets (moderate enough in 1965; very R & E in 1964). What this country needs is a good five-cent opposition party.

● On Oct. 8, 1963, NATIONAL REVIEW published an extended survey of college students on a dozen campuses. One of the conclusions was that a college climate tended to convert students to Liberalism. Of Yale the report said: "Of those students whose political tendencies have reversed course, nearly three-fifths have become more Liberal." On Dec. 10, 1965, several thousand members of the Yale community signed an appeal, published in the *New York Times*, for U.S. recognition of Red China and Red China's admission to the UN. In the appeal seniors outnumbered freshmen by one-third (even though the freshman class outnumbers the senior class by about the same margin). Graduate students outnumbered seniors by 100 per cent. Faculty members signing the appeal outnumbered graduate students by about 50 per cent. Nothing like a college education!

● The Democratic Party, improving on the swindle of the 1964 Convention, has connived with various state Committees on Voter Education to raise almost $1 million in "advertisements" placed by 68 large corporations in the "program." Naturally the corporations were full of praise for President Johnson, the Democrats, and the Great Society. Naturally the corporations do a good deal of business with Washington one way of another. Naturally the corporations would do the same if the Republicans asked them, that is if the GOP had the gall to tweak the Corrupt Practices Act as flagitiously as the Democrats —which, it turns out, is exactly what the GOP intends to do. Does this set the purchase price of the loyal opposition?

● The 1965 harvest is in and the money banked. It was a poor year, worse than 1964, for wheat, feed grains, cotton, tobacco. It was a good year for livestock, poultry, potatoes, soybeans. In other words: the agricultural products Washington interferes with were in trouble; those grown and marketed without such interferences were doing well. Meanwhile the Department of Agriculture is preparing a greatly increased budget for next year. It takes a lot of money to keep whole areas of agriculture from participating in the general growth, but AgriDept will do its darnedest.

● M2M, preferred cognomen of the May 2nd Movement (Bondian shorthand succeeds Castrovian panache), by any other name would still be the noxious pro-Vietcong student group that has been peddling around the country a scratchy 35-minute propaganda film made by Australian Communist Wilfred Burchett "behind the lines" in Vietnam. (It was Burchett who first launched the Korean "germ war" propaganda in the world press.) Long a staple of campus teach-ins, the film is now being made available to high-school groups who civic-mindedly suppose they will learn from it something about "the other fellow's views." Studied as propaganda the film could be a lesson; accepted as an account of what is happening in Vietnam, it could be the first step in initiating high-school children in the Berkeley way of life.

● Mayor-elect John Lindsay, copying the late JFK, has used his post-election, pre-inaugural weeks for maximum publicity. The technique is to announce one's appointments one by one. Lindsay thus has made headlines November 10, 17, 21, 23, 26, 27, 30 December 1, 5, 7, 8, 11, and 15, appointing the Messrs

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Lewisohn, Barnes, Tyler, Drabkin, Hoving, Klein, Costello, Lowery, Price, and Fuller to city office, and several dozen other gentlemen to consultative committees (air pollution), task forces (poverty, housing, urban renewal, public safety, law enforcement), study teams (looking into the problems of city governments), ad hoc capers (easing transition to the New Regime). Now if he'll only run brother George for State Senator and name brother Dave Attorney General, we'll know good times are here again.

● The significance of the French elections was twofold. Most dramatic was the notice served on President de Gaulle that his autocratic foreign and domestic policies had alienated large blocs of voters who had supported him overwhelmingly in the two referendums on Algeria and had returned a majority of his UNR deputies to power in the parliamentary elections of the past four years, although by diminishing majorities. But more important was the demonstration that the only other major political force in the nation is the disciplined Communist Party which turns out about 25 per cent of the vote in every French election, no matter who is running or what the issue. In the two weeks between the first vote and the December 19 runoff. François Mitterrand (himself a non-Communist of the eccentric Left) did his best to minimize his dependence on the Communists in a move to attract the centrist followers of Lecanuet ("the American candidate"). But the harsh reality is that without the support of the Communists Mitterrand would never have survived for the runoff. French Communist leaders are determined to turn their temporary alliance with the Socialists and left-Radicals into a solid popular front—a goal that has eluded them since the thirties.

● A frail thread of suspense was broken when Mikhail Sholokhov, this year's Nobel Prize winner for literature, denounced Soviet writer Andrei Sinyavsky, alias Abram Tertz in world literature, to the press as an "internal émigré," i.e. traitor. British publisher Mark Bonham Carter, who with a number of Western intellectuals had hoped Sholokhov might intercede with Soviet authorities, had his answer, as did Western reporters in Moscow inquiring of said authorities when Sinyavsky and his colleague Yuli M. Daniel would be brought to trial, to wit: Don't know and won't say. Goodnight. Security police broke up a pro-Sinyavsky demonstration at the Gorky Institute of World Literature, and back in Stockholm, Sholokhov was celebrating his own "completely untrammeled" service to the working people. Naturally.

● The Ides of December have come (the very day we write) and will have gone some days before this issue reaches its readers, but there is little sign at the moment that Britain will get all 35 of the diplomatic daggers that the soothsayers foretold in Addis Ababa a couple of weeks ago, if Rhodesia hadn't bit the dust by now. It's one thing for Sékou Touré to hand the British ambassador his credentials (if there is one in Guinea) but it's something else again for, say, Jomo Kenyatta, who knows what side his grants-in-aid are buttered on—and who, of all men, knows why he doesn't want to risk—by inciting racial war over Rhodesia—a new Mau Mau on the home front when *he* is in the saddle. But it's give and take: and London's declaration on the eve of this same day that she will after all clamp on an oil embargo would seem to be the price exacted by her ex-colonies for eating their words. An oil embargo is not so easy to enforce, though, there being so much oil in so many places, and so many bottoms under so many flags. The Rhodesian affair has not yet exploded, but it simmers more hotly.

● Going the undergraduate rounds at the University of California, a mock four-year curriculum listing such things as: *Freshman*—Riot 101, 4 hrs.; Insurrection 121, 3 hrs. *Sophomore*—Personal Hygiene (optional), 2 min.; Draft-Dodging 601a, 5 hrs. *Junior*—Police Car Sit-In 902, 2 hrs.; Economics (Welfare Collection), 4 hrs. *Senior*—Job Corps Prep 401, 6 hrs.; Finance 580a (Bail-Bond Principles), 6 hrs. . . . Kidding, of course? Of course.

The Unteachables

An old Asia hand we know who has been accepting speaking engagements at teach-ins around the country, and is therefore a hard man to shock, reports himself well and truly appalled at the turn some of these affairs are taking. Even some of the SANE-type puller-outers of the old Left are beginning to wonder where "the protest movement" may drag them as it gets more and more under the control of what they themselves call "campus guerrillas" who—but this is the way it was told to us:

"I was invited to speak at the City College of New York by the Independent Committee to End the War in Vietnam. There were four of us defending a hard military commitment in Vietnam, and of the four three were outsiders. On the other side, some thirteen others, representing Students for a Democratic Society, SANE, Women Strike for Peace, the ADA, *Dissent* Magazine, Young Socialist Alliance, and the Spartacists. There was a draft-card burner from the Committee for Nonviolent Action, and somebody from something called the New York Federation of Anarchists. I have never faced a more hostile, a more vicious audience. When I said that if

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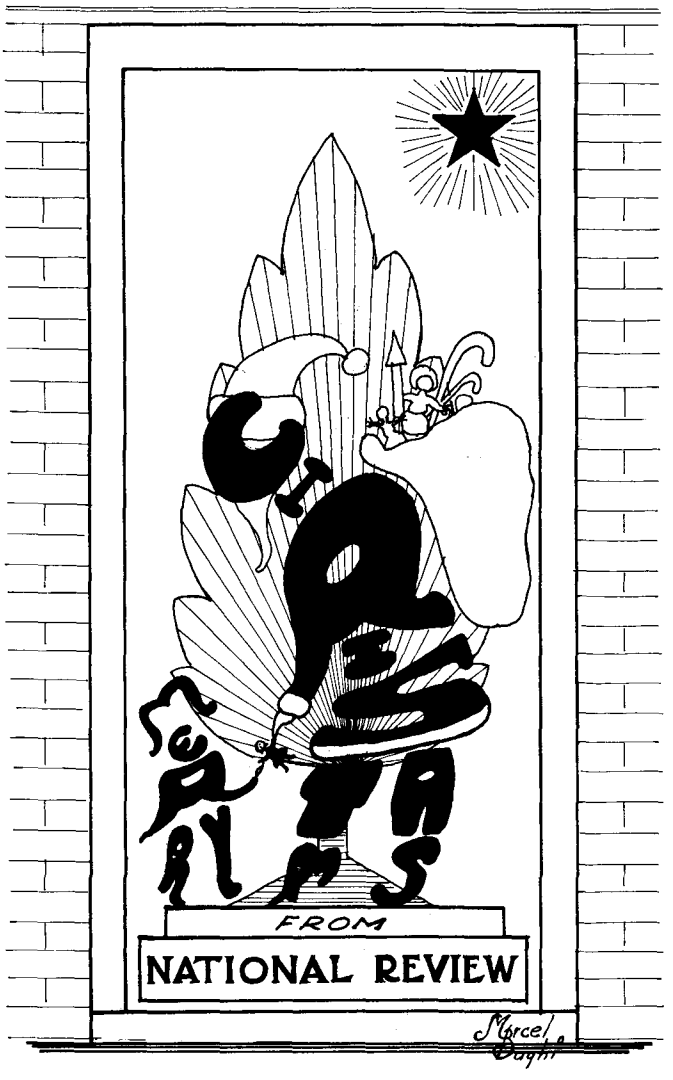

the United States retreated before the Vietcong offensive, this would only encourage the outbreak of more so-called wars of liberation, both in Asia and in Africa, to the presumable distress of the pacifist conscience and at God knows what cost to human life, the audience greeted the prospect with about two minutes of solid applause. When I told about the day in Saigon a VC terrorist had killed a bunch of GIs in a café by tossing a bomb into their midst, they applauded. When I added that children had also been present, and that one child had been blown to bits, and asked them if they wanted to applaud that, too, one guy yelled back, 'No crocodile tears, please.'

"A climax of sorts was reached when Mae Mallory spoke. Remember Mae Mallory of Monroe, North Carolina? She was the gal indicted on kidnap charges in 1961 along with Robert Williams, who subsequently fled to Cuba to broadcast Castroid harangues to American Negroes. As far as I know she's still under indictment and her *cause* is still very much *célèbre,* now that she's working for the Harlem Unemployment Center. Her remarks were one long denunciation of the U.S., and of 'the treachery' of U.S. Negro soldiers for fighting against the Vietcong. That night NBC-TV had run a tape of a Marine colonel having his leg amputated, not, of course, showing the operation, but catching the colonel's words as he told his story, which was that, flying 'too long and too low' over a Vietnamese village in order to avoid dropping napalm on women and children, he had exposed himself and his crew to ground fire, which had in fact found its mark. We'd all seen the tape at seven o'clock—the colonel had asked NBC to run it, incidentally, and to send a print to the University of California at Berkeley to show 'what Vietnam is all about'—and this is what Mae Mallory said: 'We were shown that man getting his leg cut off. I'd like to see him get his head cut off.'

"It may interest you to know that the audience regarded this as a somewhat extremist position. In fact, the whole howling night long, as speaker after speaker celebrated the impending victory of the Vietcong, only two positions were cited as extremist—Mae Mallory's and that of yours truly."

Secretary of Defense McNamara Explains How Things Are Going in Vietnam

Returning from Pacific conference, told newsmen that South Vietnam has taken the offensive—Mar. 22, 1962.

In Saigon, told newsmen "there is no plan for introducing [American] combat in South Vietnam"—May 9, 1962.

"Tremendously encouraged"—May 11, 1962.

"Secretary McNamara and Gen. Taylor reported their judgment that the major part of the U.S. military task can be completed by the end of 1965" —White House Policy Statement, Oct. 2, 1963.

In Honolulu, announced that American troops would start being withdrawn before year-end—Nov. 20, 1963.

In Saigon, after fact-finding trip, decided not to go ahead with troop withdrawal—Dec. 21, 1963.

After the fall of Diem, "the new government . . . has considerably more support than its predecessor, and the military revolutionary committee is beginning to take action to intensify military operations and to improve civil administration"—Jan. 27, 1964.

In congressional testimony, said most of the 15,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam should be withdrawn before 1965 year-end, and said he did not believe U.S. "should assume the primary responsibility for the war in South Vietnam"—Jan. 27, 1964.

Back from fourth trip to Saigon, reports that the Khanh regime has "produced a sound central plan for the prosecution of the war . . . the situation can be significantly improved in the coming months"—Mar. 17, 1964.

"The situation in South Vietnam has unquestion-

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ably worsened, at least since last fall"—Mar. 26, 1964.

The situation "not hopeless but not particularly optimistic"—Mar. 26, 1964.

"The training personnel we have assigned there will come back as their training mission is completed. Perhaps some can return this year; some, next"—Mar. 29, 1964.

Tells newsmen U.S. strength in Vietnam may be on the rise: "I don't want to predict what the totals will be at the end of this year or at the end of 1965"—Apr. 24, 1964.

"I don't object to its being called 'McNamara's war.' I think it is a very important war, and I am pleased to be identified with it"—Apr. 24, 1964.

"Excellent progress . . . the plans we laid out in March, if they are consistently followed up, will work effectively"—Saigon, May 13, 1964.

In Washington, reports that "certain additional U.S. personnel" will be needed in Vietnam—May 14, 1964.

Testifies to Congress, is reported to have been "gloomy" and to have said the anti-Vietcong efforts had deteriorated—May 15, 1964.

Reports U.S. bombing raids against North Vietnam, reports energizing of additional Army, Marine, Air Force, and anti-submarine units—Aug. 5, 1964.

Argues that newsmen should not interview Gen. Taylor: "It would be impossible for Max to talk to these people without leaving the impression the situation is going to hell"—Nov. 26, 1964.

"The past year has also brought some encouraging developments. . . . The combat performance of regular troops continues to inspire confidence"—Feb. 18, 1965.

In Saigon, on sixth visit: "We are no longer losing. . . . . It will be a long war." Nov. 29, 1965.

Indonesian Surprise Package

No one, certainly not the Indonesians, knows exactly what has been going on for the past two and a half months in that 3,000-island South Seas necklace. But we know enough, by now, to be assured that the Communist enterprise has suffered a smashing and altogether unexpected defeat.

According to plausible accounts, what happened October 1 was a premature coup attempt by the Indonesian Communists (PKI)—or perhaps only a jittery faction of the PKI—triggered by the rumor that Sukarno had had another acute kidney attack from which he might not recover. Led by Colonel Untung, commander of the palace guard, and supported by part of the air force, the putschists struck savagely. They slaughtered six anti-Communist generals of the high command, and might well have taken over if General Abdul Haris Nasution, the Defense Minister, had not got away after he had been wounded and his daughter killed. Nasution and his associates—in particular, General Suharto, whom he appointed Chief of Staff—rallied quickly. Within twenty-four hours the relationship of forces was reversed, and the Communists were on the run. Nasution and Suharto assumed de facto control of the government, disregarding Sukarno's effort to shield the Communists. In a bewildering shift, the mobs—which only a few days before had been cursing the U.S. and destroying Western buildings—were storming Communist institutions, denouncing Peking and helping the Army chase PKI members. Official decrees and unofficial acts threw Communists out of many key posts. D. N. Aidit, chief of the PKI, disappeared and is believed to be dead. Last week Subandrio—who as Foreign Minister and head of the Supreme Operational Command had guided Sukarno's pro-Communist, Peking-oriented policy—was fired.

It would be imprudent to overestimate the depth of the political change. Indonesia has not become an ally. Nasution and his associates are not pro-American or even pro-Western; they are Indonesian nationalists, ardent Moslems, and neo-Socialists; and they, like Sukarno, believe Indonesia ought to have in its region the pre-eminent domain for which it possesses the geopolitical potential. But they are anti-Communists, and they do not want Indonesia to be a satellite of Peking or Moscow any more than of Washington. The economy is in shambles (the old rupiah, after plunging to 20,000 to the dollar, has just been abolished). The Communists are wounded but not eliminated; and they proved their comeback powers after their defeat in their earlier aborted coup in 1948. But with all qualifications, the Indonesian situation has, from a Western perspective, enormously improved. The setback to our enemies is severe; which is to say that we have a victory to record.

In extending congratulations for this happy change we should not overlook:

1) Lyndon Johnson, without whose decision to stand firm in South Vietnam the anti-Communist initiative of the Indonesian generals and nationalists would have been unthinkable. If anyone asks what benefit the U.S. and the West can hope to gain from fighting in Vietnam, part of the answer has already been given. By that fighting, Indonesia has been snatched, for this period at any rate, out of the closing hands of the Communists; if the U.S. had quit in Vietnam, Indonesia would today be integrally within the Communist bloc.

2) The State and Defense Departments and the CIA, whose judgment in refusing to break off relations with Indonesia and in particular with the Indonesian military, in spite of the extreme provocations of the past few years, has been spectacularly vindicated. ➔

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Welfarism vs. the Masses

Two years ago the Institute of Economic Affairs in London conducted a survey of public opinion concerning state welfare programs, which suggested that the British public (which until then had never been consulted on the matter) was much less in favor of state welfarism than the politicians had supposed (see *NR*, Oct. 8, 1963). Now the Institute, incorporating some refinements suggested by critics in the intervening years, has gone back to the populace with a similar poll. Results roundly confirm the earlier findings. Among the Institute's conclusions:

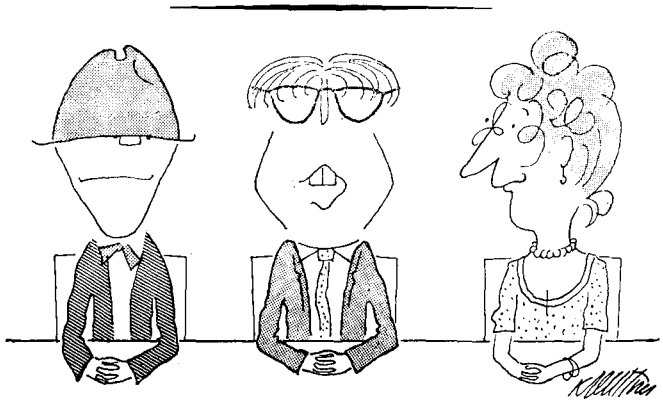
[On the question, what portion of the average family income is paid out in taxes] ". . . only 1 in 10 were very close and 1 in 2 within striking distance of the correct order of magnitude. One clear implication is that the preferences for private welfare services . . . would be likely to be sharpened and increased by fuller public awareness of the true cost, even to families of modest income, of the state services still often described as free."

"The inherent conflict between . . . private welfare and . . . state services is vividly demonstrated by Table XIII where almost half of families using state schools give 'financial reasons' to explain their choice, whilst only 1 per cent think state schools better and a further 19 per cent think them [merely] 'adequate.'"

"The response to the 1965 offer of vouchers for health insurance and private schools . . . confirms the tentative findings of *Choice in Welfare, 1963* that upwards of one-third of families now using 'free' state services would prefer to pay towards the cost of private services of their own choice. If we take into account the number already paying for private health insurance and education and of the increased acceptability of a higher value voucher, it is not difficult to believe that approaching half of parents distributed between all age groups, social classes and political sympathies might take advantage of an option less loaded in favor of state services and exercise their choice in favor of private provision. This indication of frustrated preference is all the more remarkable when we remember that there has been little commercial advertising or political advocacy of this unfamiliar line of policy."

"The central finding in 1965 that only between one-third (in health and pensions) and two-fifths (in education) favor the present emphasis of policy on state universalism amply confirms the reliability of the 1963 findings that half or more want a choice outside the state service and would opt for private services if the choice could be made on broadly comparable terms."

The full report, *Choice in Welfare 1965,* is available from the Institute, Eaton House, 66a Eaton Square, London SW1, for five guineas.



"As three ardent supporters of the Great Society, we want to say that the groundswell for the Right to Incite, Aid to Affluent Areas, Payments for Not Plowing the Long Furrow, Move to Block Investigation of Walter Lippmann, Progress Toward the Monolithic School Curriculum with Federally Elongated Coffee Breaks for Teachers Who Hate Children, and the Bolstering, Arming and Enriching of our potential enemies, is not only heartening but almost detectable!"

Put Your Dreams Away . . .

Anyone contemplating the replacement of George Meany as president of the AFL-CIO did not make himself known in San Francisco, where labor held its biannual convention last week, nor would anyone else have paid the slightest attention to such a suggestion. Meany, at 71, will presumably run the AFL-CIO as he sees fit as long as he sees fit, and of the two major factions which contend in deciding labor's course in political affairs, it is on the whole a certain good that Meany's, rather than Walter Reuther's, dominates. As for example on the Vietnam war, to which Meany (with help from Jay Lovestone) has pledged the firm support of labor with only a token concession to Reuther's yearning for negotiations.

On the other hand, anyone contemplating the introduction to labor's high councils of new blood, new energy, new style (the Schlesingerian beau ideal, invoked by the White House official who complained labor "hasn't had a new idea in forty years") has to look to 1967, or maybe '76. Old-timers are loath to give up the offices they, in many instances, created, and challenges to continuity and renewal were challenges deferred. The convention was distinguished, in fact, by how much it succeeded in putting away till another time. Reuther opposed assigning top priority next year to the repeal of right-to-work section 14(b), perhaps because he thinks Johnson's heart isn't in it, perhaps because it isn't. And with neither Johnson nor Reuther pushing it, who dares suppose the Senate would yield to a vote?

And where was civil rights? Meany's success in disposing of that peck of potential trouble owes noth-

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ing to the conciliation of grievances—the grievances are still there. Union discriminative practices, like the maintaining of racially segregated lines of seniority, account for fully one-third of all complaints now before the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, but the strange forbearance of the Negro leadership to prosecute these complaints permitted the brothers assembled to sail serenely through their week in San Francisco, a lovely place for a convention.

Pity the Poor Dirigiste

The trouble with governmental attempts to deflect economic forces from their normal ways is that they create more problems than they solve.

Take the interest rate. The Federal Reserve Board has acted to raise the level of interest in the U.S., hoping to discourage excessive credit expansion, and hoping also to keep money from seeking higher returns overseas. Meanwhile, the White House has induced U.S. firms to cut down on their overseas investment of dollar funds, thinking to ease the gold outflow. So U.S. businesses have taken to borrowing overseas for their overseas expansion, and the resulting competition for funds has been raising interest rates in foreign lands, so that it begins to look very attractive to sell U.S. bonds (if you're a foreigner) and buy foreign bonds. Which would suggest that we'll have to raise interest rates again.

Federal dabbling in the cotton markets has become so intricate that we shan't even attempt a description. Suffice to say that every element of the industry from weevil to haberdasher has been irritated; the economic expansion of the South has been slowed; prices are swollen; foreign producers excluded; and more. The South, which was to have been helped by the cotton intervention, would be better off today if cotton had gone West with the free market developments in farming and irrigation, and if the South had concentrated on poultry products. Washington has seriously delayed this beneficent transition, in an attempt to help.

The farm subsidy program, which is supposed to perpetuate the "family farm," will in 1966 provide federal payments of about $2,500 for the average farm with sales of $10,000 or more—and $128 for the average farm with sales below $5,000.

The federal program to encourage domestic tourism triggered an all-time record flood of Americans on vacation in foreign lands. They reckoned this might be their last chance.

Economic literature is loaded with discussions of the fecklessness of governmental substitutes for the free market, but politicians cannot resist the temptation to step in and take charge. On December 2 President Johnson suggested to the Business Council that his Administration is capable of rationally controlling the whole economy:

"We are not a labor government. We are not a business government. We are not a farmer's government. We are the government of all America. We have made it clear that we support a fair profit, a fair wage, and a fair price. We understand the complex working of our society."

The record would indicate otherwise, but the dirigiste is to be pitied not only because he fails, but because he doesn't even know he is failing.

Notes and Asides

When it came to checking the spelling of "Osip Mandelstam" in Mrs. Heath's Christmas article—part of which had been dictated late at night by a tardy author to a frantic editor—another editor who goes in for that kind of thing mentioned that the *New York Review of Books* was featuring an article on Mandelstam in its current issue. So we checked it. Mrs. Heath was dead wrong. Right there on the cover of the *New York Review* it said: "Ossip Mandelstamm" (two "esses" and two "ems"). We then turned to page three only to note that the work being reviewed was by a certain Osip (one "s") Mandelstam (one "m"), just the way Mrs. Heath had it. But what did we find in the first line of the review (by Isaiah Berlin: and a very fine review it was too, we are sure) but that our orthographically slippery friend appeared as Ossip Mandelstamm (two of both; just like on the cover). Being nothing if not thorough, we turned to page five where nine poems translated from Ossip Manderstamm were featured. (Two "esses," two "ems," but hey presto! the "l" had been transformed into an "r.") An introductory note by translators Robert Lowell and Olga Carlisle mentioned the late Russian poet as Manderstamm, just once, and as Mandelstamm twice. Having run these figures through on our trusty abacus we concluded that the odds were best (7-5) for the double "s," double "m" and "l" and, the hour being late, adjusted Mrs. Heath's spelling accordingly. Any complaints or comments should be addressed to: The Editor, *New York Review of Books,* 250 W. 57th St., New York, N.Y. 10019.

A number of our readers have asked if copies of the panoramic photo of NATIONAL REVIEW's 10th Anniversary Dinner (*NR,* Nov. 30) are obtainable. They are. The glossies, approximately 23 by 13 inches, cost $5.00. Checks should be sent to the attention of Miss Elizabeth Peyer, NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 E. 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

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They Are Saying on the Circuit . . .

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

ON THE RIGHT

Mr. Norman Thomas is a gentleman of venerable age, by his own confession half blind, and he has difficulty climbing a staircase, or maneuvering across a platform. But his wit is whole, his voice is steady and eloquent, and what he says is, alas, the most mixed-up nonsense being uttered this side of the giggle-houses. I do not mean to suggest that the gentleman is senile, he is most emphatically not anything of the sort. The views he utters about why we should withdraw from Vietnam are identically those of younger men in their physical prime.

Buckley

Standing before 4,000 students at Lehigh University earlier this week Mr. Thomas, who six times ran for President of the United States and providentially lost—even while winning the affection of the people—declared that the war in Vietnam is "immoral and stupid." He gave the conventional reasons for believing this, so whatever else is new; but then he made a newish observation which is becoming fashionable. It is to the effect that we ought really to understand the position of the Red Chinese. How would *we* feel if Mexico were occupied by the Communist powers?

That we would feel very bad about it is hardly to be doubted, though it is to be doubted that Mr. Thomas and his fellow pacifists and neutralists would feel so bad about it as to desire to do anything about it, any more than they have desired to do anything about the Communist occupation of Cuba. The analogy, which I have seen used a half dozen times now in a single month, breaks down at the most elementary level, simply because the Communist powers are not to be compared with the United States.

In this century alone the United States has at one time or another occupied, or caused to be occupied, a fairly large area of the globe. All of Europe. China. Japan. Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Mexico. The Philippines, Formosa. In every instance, we have withdrawn from those areas, having meanwhile made efforts here gloriously successful, there tragically defective, to encourage material progress and free institutions.

With the single exception of Austria, there is no territory in the world that was ever occupied by the Communist powers, which was subsequently set free by them. The answer to the question, How would we feel if the Communists occupied Mexico, then, calls for the time-honored reply: *Quod licet Jovi, non licet bovi.* What Communists may not do, we may do, for the very simple but utterly conclusive reason that they are war-waging imperialistic powers, and we are not.

Existing War Is Justified

Mr. Thomas was then asked, in an unsuccessful effort to wrench out of him the concrete proposals he is advancing, what grounds does he have for believing that the Communists would abide by a treaty in South Vietnam, even assuming that one were concluded. He replied that he had every ground for believing that the Communists would abide by a treaty—the Communists, he declared, "abide by treaties when it is to their advantage to do so in order to avoid war."

No truer words were ever spoken, or certainly not by Norman Thomas. But what is the meaning of his answer? Surely that the existing war is justified. If the Communists will only abide by treaties because the alternative is war, then the alternative of war must indeed exist, else by Mr. Thomas's definition the treaties will not be observed. What is the present war all about, if not precisely the alternative to the 1954 Geneva Treaty which the Communists refused to live up to?

Indeed, if the Geneva Treaty had been backed up by more decisive sanctions, the Communists would obviously have lived up to its provisions, even as, reluctantly, they abandoned for the time being, at any rate, their designs on Berlin when President Eisenhower really laid it on the line.

If we refuse to fight in South Vietnam with sufficient vigor to win, we shall merely be contributing to the dissolution of those few treaties we have with the Communists which they do continue to observe.

And, finally, it is ever so modish, on the circuit, to disdain the government of South Vietnam. Inside Vietnam, Mr. Thomas proclaimed, there isn't "a vestige of democracy." Well, to begin with, there *is* a vestige of democracy in South Vietnam, and rather more besides. It was a general democratic election that overthrew Bao Dai and elected Diem, and three national elections have since been held—rather more, in point of fact, than one might reasonably have expected in a war-torn area.

There were no elections held in America during our revolutionary war, not in England during the last and lengthy world war. Democracy is a luxury, for which all men reasonably seek. But it isn't the first order of business. The first order of business in South Vietnam is to repulse the enemy, as it is the first order of business here to reject the false and sophistical counsels of such as Mr. Thomas.

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* Mrs. Jock McNeill, 161 East 81st Street, New York City. Mrs. McNeill is reading a copy of NR's big 10th Anniversary issue. If you missed it, you can still get a copy by sending $1.00 to Dept. R, **National Review,** 150 East 35th Street, NYC 10016.

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The Third World War

Gulliver and the Vietniks

JAMES BURNHAM

According to official opinion, the movement of opposition to the U.S. action in Vietnam is of little practical importance; and within that movement—still according to official opinion—the "extremist elements" (i.e., Communists and miscellaneous revolutionaries) play an insignificant role.

Burnham

Official opinion on this matter bolsters itself with statistics. The Gallup and other polls find that eighty or whatever per cent of voters "support President Johnson's Vietnam policy." University surveys show that campus Vietniks number only a few per cent of students and teachers. And among the protestants observers identify only a minor fraction as persons adhering to revolutionary outfits.

Official opinion, led by the President and Vice President, concludes that the opposition movement is a fine thing, a vigorous exercise of the right of free speech and a sign of health in the body politic.

If things are so, then why do all the spokesmen and journals of official opinion pay such an unconscionable deal of attention to these opposition doings? Official opinion is protesting rather too much, and its real belief may not be so far different, after all, from *their* official opinion. Hanoi, Peking and Moscow have made it clear that they regard the opposition movement as very important indeed; that, in fact, they judge its forums to be, quite probably, the war's most important front. Each smallest episode is reported in detail in the world Communist press. Ho Chi Minh himself—who must surely be a busy man these days—replies at length to the overtures of Linus Pauling, and sends a long cable of congratulation to SANE's leadership for its Thanksgiving march on Washington. Norman Morrison—who burned himself, and nearly his baby daughter, on the Pentagon parking lot—has become an official folk hero in North Vietnam.

Statistics and Dynamics

Statistics don't mean very much in situations of this kind. It is a question of the equilibrium of political forces. This is primarily affected not by the great mass, which is in and of itself inert, but by dynamic minorities. Among these, activists of the opposition have been out in front. This is manifest from the surface record: the opposition holds the psychic initiative; it has invariably moved first; in purportedly "all-sided" actions (e.g., TV or teach-in discussions) it always dominates. The supporters of a firm policy have, throughout, been on the defensive; their parades, declarations, ads, organizations come into being as a response—often a weak and apologetic response—to a prior opposition move.

But more than this: within the opposition as a whole, the most dynamic—and therefore the direction-controlling—element is *its* statistical minority of conscious revolutionaries. Most of the protestants are sincere and respectable citizens who from one or another motive believe it is either wrong or unwise for us to be fighting in Vietnam. But judged existentially, their opposition is politically and strategically frivolous, irresponsible. It is frivolous because from the standpoint of external consequences it operates as a mere personal indulgence. The respectable majority of the opposition has the personal satisfaction of its humanitarian morality or (à la Hans Morgenthau) its lofty shrewdness, without paying the price in foreseeable consequences. We must stop bombing; we must pull out. . . . And then? Let's see: then the UN, or a new Geneva conference, or a big-power guarantee, or "the suffering Vietnamese people," or a Ho-who-wants-to-be-independent-of-Peking or, or something, will take over. . . .

But the revolutionary minority of the minority is not frivolous. It knows what it wants: that the U.S. should suffer a major and globally repercussive defeat. It knows that the road to that defeat is precisely the bombing halt and then pullout that the non-revolutionary opposition frivolously advocates. Unlike the President, it knows also that, from its perspective, the whole opposition movement has nothing to do with "free speech"; that it is a political warfare campaign mounted—on a global scale—to gain specific strategic objectives.

What Are the Odds?

What chance does this campaign have of success? Not too bad, it would seem. By their own weight the small revolutionary cadres could not significantly alter the equilibrium of the nation unified by a counter-purpose. But the nation is not so unified. Its fissures—which extend right up to the top of the legislature and executive—and the global support given the revolutionaries by the world enterprise provide an Archimedean leverage. When a senator of the United States (Ernest Gruening of Alaska) proclaims the pullout line from the platform of a notorious Communist front (the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee), Ho, Brezhnev and Mao have no cause for discouragement.

Already the campaign has preliminary victories which it can plausibly claim. Its pressures, surely, have something to do with our unwillingness to expand air operations and our failure to cut off shipping to North Vietnam. They have also succeeded in keeping the President's *rhetoric* on the defensive, until he and his colleagues almost seem to be saying: All we *want* to do is pull out, so just give us a chance! Accepting that as the war aim, the most solid of citizens can almost be excused for reflecting: if eventually, why not now?

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Horizontal-Enrichment: Information-Wise

A veritable Lucullan feast is spread for Mrs. Heath this year, book-wise. What, oh what to choose? Has she got it? You bet she's got it. . . .

ALOISE B. HEATH

Horizontal-enrichment, as I'm sure you already know, it's just that I can't take a chance on it, is knowing a little something about almost everything. Vertical-enrichment, naturally, is knowing practically everything about very little. Vertical-enrichment right now is In, I don't know why. Horizontal-enrichment is Out. Nobody wants to be broadly educated; they want to be intensively educated: a foolishness which I attribute to the Sputnik and those other scientific things. Dr. Spock, for instance, is an example of a vertical education topped off with vertical-enrichment. He knows so much about babies that he has even realized they can grow up without the benefit of as much knowledge as Dr. Spock can offer them: and I personally believe that he has taught so many generations of young mothers to relax and leave their children to Topsy's method that he has no more patients. Left as he is with all that permissiveness and no one to permit he has unfortunately chosen North Vietnam as his next beneficiary. This is not to be confused, however, with horizontal-enrichment. This is horizontal impoverishment: in fact, the nearer Dr. Spock gets to the oriental horizon the closer he comes to the educational level of the U.S. poverty program.

What to Give Dr. Spock:

To be sure this is not wholly Dr. Spock's fault. There is such a thing as being so very very vertically enriched that the last time someone disagreed with you is lost in the mists of the past and you would lose it too if you were Dr. Spock or even Bertrand Russell.

Still: sometime, somewhere, someone must have given Dr. Spock a book for Christmas. It's the kind of thing one does give the children's pediatrician, cognac being as high as it is. And certainly no parents would exhibit such an appalling lack of tact as to present Dr. Spock with a book calculated to vertically enrich him. One just does not give a baby doctor a book on the Care and Feeding of Babies. Nor would anyone send Lord Russell a book on philosophy even though he does like it as we all know; or James Burnham, say, the Overstreets' book on Communism, or Priscilla Buckley, *French Without Tears*. And a good many people know me well enough not to give me *Fun With the Eight-Times Table*, which last might enrich but would also enrage me.

So what do you give for Christmas, unless you're of the "ties for the gentlemen, handkerchiefs for the ladies" school? You give books, horizontally enriching books, that's what. For one thing, if you're very careful you can read them first. In the event, though, that you haven't begun your own book-browsing this year I really do think I'd skip it. What you would read is too expensive; and what you can afford is too cheap.

In the field of general knowledge which is a field from which I like to make my purchases because I love being horizontally enriched even if it is Out, which would you want me to give you, for instance, *Russian Philosophy* in three volumes? One thousand, two hundred and sixty-seven pages? Twenty-two fifty? Well you can't have it. Yes, frankly, I'd rather have $22.50 than your thanks.

How about *Textiles of Ancient Peru and Their Technique*, also $22.50. You can't have that either. If the technique of Peruvian textiles is as sloppy as their grammar I wouldn't buy it for $2.50. Or them. How about *Sex and the Adult Woman* or *Football and the Single Man* (which incidentally, I know a man who is going to have football and the single life, or just me)? How about the most general piece of information I've ever seen on the cover of a book, *Wall Paintings by Snake Charmers of Tanganyika*, or Erle Stanley Gardner's *Hunting Lost Mines by Helicopter*, or *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850?*

SR Waggish?

Another book that I would very much like to give in order to read it is *The Prose of Ossip Mandelstamm*, "a member of the Acmeist School of poetry whose master was Innokenti Annensky"—you know, the Annensky who taught Greek at the famous Lycée in Tsarskoe Selo! but I won't because I think he's a joke. Even the *Saturday Review* may have its waggish moments. There's a book on the history of the Self-Winding Watch whose jacket proclaims that it "contains an unusual *amount* of rare illustrations." And it had better if that sentence is an example of its prose. Then there's the *Encylopedia of U.S. Government Benefits* crammed into 1,011 pages. Seven ninety-five, and a bargain I say. *Galaxies, Nuclei and Quasars* I will not give you because it wouldn't interest me. Nor will I give you *The MacArthur Controversy and American Foreign Policy* by Schlesinger and Rovere because I already know what it says. As for *What's in Mommy's Pocketbook?*, what on earth is the author thinking of. Johnny knows what's in Mommy's pocketbook. That's where he spends his spare time.

An animal book is pretty safe for almost anyone and the one I hope I get is either *The Personality of the Bird* or *Genetics and the Social Behavior of the Dog*. That musical transcription of macaw mating-calls I really don't think I could ever do

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anything with. Nobody will give me what some lucky person will certainly get, *Does Polly Want a Cracker?: Teach Your Bird to Speak Carefully.*

The Secret of Cooking for Cats has, I imagine, been well kept heretofore but is now being divulged by Martin A. Gardner because, he explained, "cats are complex characters. They have whims. They have prejudices. They have sensitivity. And making their meals interesting will provide many happy hours for all of you." The book features soups, fish, meat and vegetable dishes, and a tasty selection of recipes which supply roughage. One which I can personally vouch for is called "Mew-Mew Gai-Pen." The recipe calls for "a small amount of boned fish, two oz. of cooked instant rice, three teaspoons of seasoned tomato juice and just a dash of garlic powder. Place fish in bowl. Add instant rice. Mix well. Top with juice. Sprinkle with powder. Warm well. Serve." Yum! (Well it sounds better than *"Oreille et pied de porc avec haricot rouge,"* which appears in that classic example of a self-contradictorily titled book: *The Art of Simple French Cookery.*)

Conjugal Paramecia

Not even Polly's diction, when she asks for a cracker, is as fascinating as the sex life of animals, which is, in fact, the title of a foot-stool-sized book by Herbert Wendt, who "presents his always absorbing story with humor, directness, and complete objectivity," says the jacket. Quite correctly in my opinion, though I did think that the author showed a we-e-e-e-e bit of partiality to the paramecium. Plate #VII, "Paremecia in conjugation" just isn't all that interesting, let alone illustrative and I suspect Dr. Wendt devoted nine drawings to them just to get them a little extra attention, and why shouldn't he to be sure? Dr. Wendt is full of surprises. Roman snails, for instance, are sadists. Did you know that? The reproductiuon of the nautilus is *not* completely understood as you and I had always believed; for the matter of the freely swimming hectocotylus arm has *never been solved!*

One warning. If you should ever own the book keep it out of the hands of children. Chapter IV, Section 8, "The Love Factory of the Termite" is far too raw for the preadolescent: and small children will perhaps be disillusioned, (and aren't we all?) when they learn that the gallant drake pursuing his abducted mate and her ravisher does not have rescue in mind but only the location of her approaching dishonor so he can pick her up afterwards and chase her back to sit on the babies.

I won't spoil your fun, but there is many a hearty chuckle to be found in Chapter VII: "Aberrations of the Libido in Mammals."

A hearty chuckle is really what you want at Christmas time, anyway, don't you? And heaven knows there is enough of that on the book shelves to last you the rest of the year. Here's *God Bless Everybody,* shades of Charles Dickens! By Mr. Average Citizen. Oh, well maybe not that one. It says here: "A hard-hitting exposé of the un-Christian thinking and acting of so-called Christians that prevent America from fulfilling her grand destiny. 'EXPLOSIVE' 'CONTROVERSIAL' 'EVERYBODY SHOULD READ IT.' (Information on page 132 could save your job. Information on page seven could save your life. Send $1 to . . .") This one is better: *The Happy Child at the Piano*—not that I've ever seen one. *French is Fun!* Well, I think that's a little positive, don't you? *Fun with Crewel Embroidery.* No. *Favorite Operas to Read and Hum.* No. *Polyominoes: The Fascinating New Recreation in Mathematics* by Solomon W. Golomb. A polyomino, it appears, is what a domino is two of and a trimono is three of and a pentamino is five of, which *You* never knew before, Buster, (puzzles range widely in difficulty; one construction had 2,339 solutions). The compendium contained almost one hundred problems including "absorbing games with polyominoes of more than two dimensions offering the reader weeks of diversion, for once you begin to make pentomino patterns you will find you cannot stop."

Little Black Lies

Did you notice the word "game"? "absorbing"? "diversion"? Everyone of them is a cunning, conscious, calculated, *black* LIE. Polyominoes are nothing in the world but Geometry, and worse. There are *135* pages of theorems (". . . considering two or more dimensions, Gordon had exhibited a quasi-polyomino of 3-D cells —where D is the dimension— that cannot be used to cover or 'tile' the space. Actually this family of examples turns out to be one of *pseudo*-poloyominoes") to be learned, and exercises to be done before you are even offered any one the "diversions." Ah! Not that the author calls his little nifties diversions once he's got you past the jacket! In the body of the book he really tips his hand. All those diversions are now problems, and this time, he isn't lying.

That book, *that* book is the one I bought for myself. In broad daylight, in full possession of my senses, I bought that book for $6.12 including tax when I could have bought seven Gothick paperback suspense-ladden romances, reminiscent of *Rebecca* for the same price—o fool, *fool!* It's the kind of thing that makes you would you would the tender apple blossom were.

Avocado Pit Growers

Now that I've told you everything about the books not to give people, and I promise I won't give them to you either, okay?, the year 1965 has seen a magnificent contribution to the sum of human knowledge and its discoverer, along with so many of the great ones of the earth, will undoubtedly not be fully recognized until she is long dead. Not to go into detail, which indeed would be impossible let alone an injustice, to the subject. But may I assure you that *The Avocado Pit Growers' Indoor How-To Book* by Hazel Perper will fulfill all your expectations no matter how high. You have a surprise waiting for you in the question so long considered to be definitively settled, of the number of toothpicks used to suspend your pit. I will not spoil it for you. And, wait till you read the astounding discovery about the water temperature; till you absorb detailed descriptions of the small but oh so significant differences between pit and pit.

I shall not go on, but oh my friends and oh my foes if Santa Claus should tuck Miss Perper's masterpiece into your stocking this year it will be a happy Christmas for you indeed.

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HERE WE GO A-WASSAILING WITH LBJ

W. H. von Dreele

WHITE CHRISTMAS

I'm dreaming of a new nation
With every ball point pen I use;
Where the Congress greases a bill that pleases,
And Barry's caroling the blues,
I'm dreaming I am Abe Lincoln
When the Confederacy fell.
That's why, even on Christmas day
I never go to a play.

WE THREE KINGS

Those three kings, I'd like to have known·
(Mine won't ever let me alone!)
Legislating,
Integrating—
Over the telephone.
(chorus)
Oh-h-h...
When he starts to sermonize,
I begin to agonize;
Leftward leading,
Still proceeding,
Since he won the Nobel Prize.

GOOD KING WENCESLAUS

Goodness! When I first looked out
On the White House terrace,
Columnists began to doubt
Anyone could bear us.
That's when I began to push
All my military;
Lippmann got it in the mush
As I copied B-a-a, a-a-a, r-y-y.

DECK THE HALLS

Deck the halls with borrowed holly;
(Gonna have a Great Society.)
Seats for *all* to "Hello, Dolly!";
(Put it on the cuff, or C.O.D.)
Who's afraid of easy credit?
(Ladybird manages our TV.)
Uncle Sam can always get it.
(Fa-la-la-la 'till catastrophe.)

JINGLE BELLS

Dashing off a note
To a businessman I know,
Trying to promote
Prices that are low;
I begin to feel
Such *a glow* inside—
When I say it's time to heel,
They all get goggle-eyed!
(chorus)
Jingle, bells. Jingle, bells.
When the prices rise
I may look unhappy, but
I never criticize.
I don't yell: "What the hell!"
All I do is dump
Copper and aluminum,
And watch the market slump.

ON THE FIRST DAY OF CHRISTMAS

On my 8th year in office
I truly hope to see...
No opposition;
Free school tuition;
John Lindsay, Speaker;
Bill Buckley, weaker;
All students prayerless;
(RFK *hairless*);
Rent for the masses;
Pills for the lasses—
And a big, fat consensus for me-e-e.

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The Rebirth of Christ

A remarkable essay on C. S. Lewis, the scholar and critic, who refused to be captured by the Spirit of an Age that holds the Christmas story to be a myth

JEFFREY HART

To most university students and their professors, C. S. Lewis is well known as a scholar and literary critic. His two books on medieval literature, his books on Milton and on sixteenth-century literature, and his widely ranging essays, have firmly established his authority in the Academy. Such scholarly and critical work has its independent importance, of course, quite apart from his other writing; and, indeed, those students and professors who admire him in this aspect are very likely to be only marginally aware of him as he appears to the broad reading public: a phenomenally popular writer on religious subjects.

As a scholar, Lewis simply knew too much to remain a prisoner of the Spirit of the Age, to succumb to the appeal of the merely fashionable. He was completely liberated from chronological snobbery. He did not suppose a statement true because it had been made recently, or because people around him seemed to accept it. "I take a very low view of 'climates of opinion,'" he wrote. "In his own subject every man knows that all discoveries are made and all errors corrected by those who ignore the 'climate of opinion.'" And beyond this, Lewis learned, by studying earlier periods and examining their assumptions, to become aware of what Whitehead calls the "of courses" of culture—the things everyone assumes to have been proved, or to be self-evidently true, and therefore leaves unexamined. Lewis condemned "the uncritical acceptance of the intellectual climate common to our own age and the assumption that whatever has gone out of date is on that account discredited. You must find why it went out of date. Was it ever refuted (and if so by whom, where, and how conclusively) or did it merely die away as fashions do? If the latter, this tells us nothing about its truth or falsehood. From seeing this, one passes to the realization that our own age is also a 'period,' and certainly has, like all periods, its own characteristic illusions. They are likely to lurk in those widespread assumptions that are so ingrained in the age that no one dares to attack or feels it necessary to defend them."

Surely such liberation from present-mindedness is one of the main reasons—it may even, finally, be *the* main reason—for studying history or literature. In Lewis' last book, *The Discarded Image*, the way in which historical study has a liberating effect appears with particular clarity. This book, published posthumously, consists of a series of lectures he delivered several times in his course at Cambridge, and it deals with the medieval conception, or "image" as the title has it, of the universe. This model is fairly familiar in its outlines. At the center is the earth—spherical, of course; the idea that the Middle Ages thought the earth flat is entirely false—and the earth is surrounded by a series of transparent globes, one above the other. Fixed in each of those spheres is a luminous body, a planet. Further out comes the *stellatum*, the sphere of the stars, and finally the *Primum Mobile*, or First Mover, itself invisible, but, moved by its love of God, imparting movement to all the inner spheres. Beyond the *Primum Mobile* we move outside space and time altogether, into a realm of pure intellectual light—Heaven.

Medieval Thought Sophisticated

Medieval space, unlike ours, was neither dark nor silent. "The sun illuminates the whole universe; night is merely the conical shadow cast by the earth, and it turns through the brilliantly lighted universe like the hand of a clock." Beyond that, the spheres as they turn produce harmonious music. How did it feel to inhabit such a universe? To "look out on the night sky with modern eyes is like looking out over a sea that fades away in the mist. . . . To look up at the towering medieval universe is more like looking up at a great building." Our "universe is romantic and theirs was classical." Or again: in "modern, that is, in evolutionary thought Man stands at the top of a stair whose foot is lost in obscurity; in this, he stands at the bottom of a stair whose top is invisible with light."

But if Lewis knows and can communicate what it felt like to live inside the model, he knows other things as well. He knows that in many respects medieval thought was highly sophisticated. No more than a modern theologian, for example, did St. Jerome hold every sentence of the Old Testament to be scientific or historical truth. He said that Moses described Creation "after the manner of a popular poet," or, as we would say, "mythically." Lewis knows that symbolism, and a subtle sense of the relations between symbols and facts, are not something we have discovered recently. The Middle Ages, for example, believed in the existence of three hierarchies of angels, each hierarchy consisting of three different kinds. The scheme derived from a writer known as the pseudo-Dionysius. A modern writer, with a good deal of bad nineteenth-century art in mind, would consider the entire system clear proof of medieval fatuity. But Lewis points out that these angels of course were *celestial* beings, and that "educated people in the Middle Ages never believed the winged men who represent angels in painting and sculpture to be more than symbols." Even the vast intricate model of the universe itself, he

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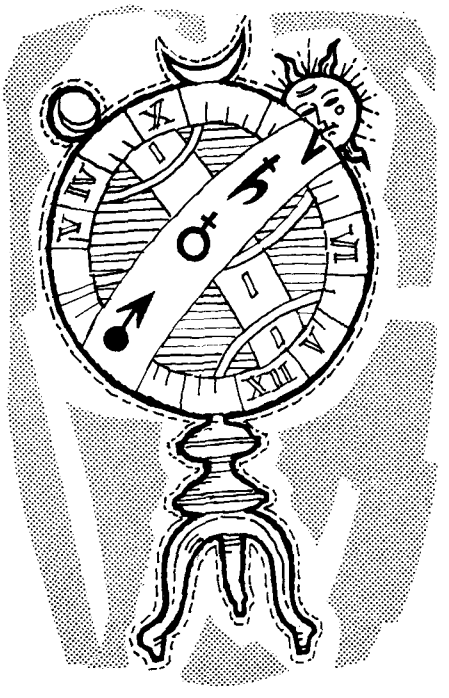
points out, had a symbolic quality. "The great masters do not take any model quite so seriously as the rest of us. They know that it is, after all, only a model, possibly replaceable."

In that last sentence, Lewis' phrase "the rest of us" can be only a lecturer's courtesy, for the point he is making is in fact the main one to emerge from *The Discarded Image*. Our mental models of reality are metaphors, and not reality itself; and beyond that, they are cultural productions, as much the constructions of imagination as a poem or a sonata. Models of the universe change because "nature gives most of her evidence in response to the questions we ask her." Or, elsewhere: "What we learn from experience depends on the kind of philosophy we bring to experience." As he points out, it is possible to trace historically the human demand for a developing, or "modern," universe back into the eighteenth century. When the demand "is full grown the scientists go to work and discover the evidence on which our belief in that sort of universe would now be held to rest. . . . Nature has all sorts of phenomena in stock and can suit many different tastes." Lewis' contention is not, of course, that the universe does not develop. It does. But that our stress on the fact is cultural. A hierarchical arrangement of the evidence is perfectly conceivable. Even the old cosmology accommodated the facts, and might actually still do so: the "old astronomy was not in any exact sense 'refuted' by the telescope. The scarred surface of the Moon and the satellites of Jupiter can, if one wants, be fitted into a geocentric scheme. Even the enormous, and enormously different distances of the stars can be accommodated if you are prepared to make their sphere, the *stellatum*, of a vast thickness."

As we come to the end of these lectures, we realize that we have witnessed a breathtaking piece of intellectual virtuosity. Lewis' point, of course, is not that we should attempt to will the medieval cosmology back into being. For some reason any writer who deals with the Middle Ages runs the risk of being charged with a desire to "turn the clock back"; and, indeed, Miss Kathleen Nott, an English critic of Leftist and anti-Christian bent has wooden-headedly accused Lewis of such an intention. But Lewis' imaginative sympathy is not to be construed in any such fashion. Did not Tawney observe that sympathy is a catalyst of knowledge? Still less does Lewis mean to argue that Christianity is bound up with the old model. He even points out ways in which the model and the spirit of Christianity are in tension, if not outright conflict. He means, rather, to demonstrate—by describing the model and then stepping outside it—how rooted in assumption *any* model is, and, finally, how rooted in assumption are many attitudes that pass as established truth. This is a theme that recurs again and again in his books. "The moment rational thought ceases," he writes in



Miracles, "imagination, mental habit, and the 'spirit of the age' take charge of you again. New thoughts, until they have themselves become habitual, will affect your consciousness as a whole only while you are actually thinking them. Reason has but to nod at his post, and instantly Nature's patrols are infiltrating. Therefore . . . the mere gravitation of the mind back to its habitual outlook must be discounted" when we are considering whether a statement is true or false. By inhabiting the medieval consciousness, and then stepping outside it, we practice, so to speak, for performing the same operation with regard to the presuppositions of our own period. Far from being anti-modern, as Miss Nott would have him, Lewis, in his rationalism, in his distrust of habit and established attitude, is (compare him with Burke) almost frighteningly modern. And paradoxically it is this radical skepticism about assumptions, this distrust of received opinion, that gives to his religious writing its special kind of power.

Climate Hostile to Religion

For the point is that as far as religion is concerned the climate of opinion is hostile. As Lewis says in *Miracles*, "we all have Naturalism in our bones. . . . Naturalistic assumptions, beggings of the questions . . . will meet you on every side—even from the pens of clergymen. You must develop a nose like a bloodhound for those steps in the argument which depend not on historical or linguistic knowledge" but on concealed assumptions, and "this means that you must really re-educate yourself: must work hard and consistently to eradicate from your mind the whole type of thought in which we have been brought up." Certainly a large undertaking; but the intention to re-educate, to combat rooted assumption, is central to Lewis' work.

Mr. Edmund Wilson blandly informs us that religious belief is an impossibility for any intelligent modern person, and further, that no intelligent person can now suppose Jesus to have been divine. Wilson himself is intelligent and well-read; his ratiocinative powers are far from contemptible; he would have known at once that both of his statements are completely untrue—if he had paused to examine them. Whether or not religious propositions are true or not, it is simply a matter of fact that men who are both intelligent and modern affirm that they are true; Eliot, Lewis, Maritain, Tate, Auden, Gilson, Waugh, Claudel—all believe precisely those propositions which, Wilson asserts, no intelligent modern person can believe. They are intelligent. They are modern. And Wilson himself knows no pertinent fact they are unaware of. When he made those statements Wilson was acting as a spokesman for the Spirit of the Age. He supposed that the assault upon Christianity has been intellectually conclusive merely because it has

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been, in many places, historically successful. Most intellectual solecisms have moral roots; Wilson's proceeded from a form of success worship. At one time, as the elderly devil Screwtape writes to his nephew Wormwood in *The Screwtape Letters,* men "knew pretty well when a thing was proved and when it was not; and if it was proved they really believed it." But "with the weekly press and other such weapons we have largely altered that." They now do not "think of doctrines as primarily 'true' or 'false,' but as 'academic' or 'practical,' 'outworn' or 'contemporary,' 'conventional' or 'ruthless.'" If the average intellectual during the Middle Ages did not really entertain the idea that Christianity might be false, the average intellectual today does not really entertain the idea that it might be true. He does not ask those essential questions, so insisted upon by Lewis: "Was it ever refuted (and if so by whom, where, and how conclusively) or did it merely die away as fashions do? If the latter, this tells us nothing about its truth or falsehood." But of course it takes a remarkable man, and a remarkably free one, to insist upon those questions.

The explanation of how a climate of opinion hostile or indifferent to Christianity came to be established cannot be attempted here. And it is no doubt symptomatic that we lack a genuine history (and I do not mean a self-congratulatory account of the advance of the Light) of the emergence of naturalism—a history that would investigate it in its significant sociological, psychological, political, and economic aspects. In a recent book, John Courtney Murray has distinguished between "the aristocratic atheism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries" and "the bourgeois atheism of the nineteenth century." The first was an attempt to understand the world, the second to make money in it. And both were deeply involved with politics. "The aristocratic atheism of the French Enlightenment . . . embodied a political will. The attack on religion—more exactly on the Catholic faith and on the status of the Church in public life—had as one of its important purposes to undermine the status of the king, to clear the way for a direct attack upon the absolute monarchy, which was supported by the power of the Church. Similarly, a political will lay behind the bourgeois atheism of the nineteenth century. Across its hostility to religion ran the intention of eradicating the remnants of feudalism—the power of the Restoration monarchies, the privileges of the nobility, the wealth of the great landowners—which, again, stood in close relationship to the ecclesiastical order. In the seventeenth and eighteenth and even in the nineteenth centuries, you could not touch religion without touching politics—and vice versa." Thus the emergence of anti-religious thought was in resonance with powerful political and economic tendencies, was in harmony with the spirit of the age. And when an argument is thus in resonance with powerful historical tendencies it receives a great deal of unearned power.

The Scriptures as History

When we examine as closely as we can the process by which the "climate of opinion" actually became established, some remarkable things emerge. The closeness of the examination is important, because it is *specialized* knowledge that seems to be the most effective weapon against assumption and erroneous if widespread opinion. In the study of history, for example, intensive research on limited areas has exploded most of the assumptions reflected in nineteenth-century history books or in such broad popular surveys as H. G. Wells' *Outline of History.* But though such specialized knowledge does, I suppose, diffuse itself in society, the process is at best a slow one. How many of us actually know, with any degree of certainty, the state of knowledge on matters outside our immediate field—even on matters of great importance? How many people actually know very much about the state of knowledge on the question of the historical reliability of the synoptic Gospels? Are they, in the view of sober scholars today, mostly myth? Works of fiction? Is Christ a corn-god?

We recall that Arnold spoke of "all the science of Tubingen," meaning the most important and influential school of German Biblical criticism, and that he considered it a model of scientific method. But what, in fact, has been the fate of its scholarship? The best modern scholarship now asserts that vital parts of the German criticism rested "on no evidence whatsoever, and belong purely to the realm of fancy." It is now clear that Ferdinand Bauer, the greatest of the Tubingen scholars, as well as his followers, was fatally in error about the dating of the New Testament, and supposing large parts of it of late origin (sometime in the second century), spun out fanciful theories about the "development" of the text we possess. But as Stephen Neill points out, "every serious scholar now agrees that the books were written not later than 100 A.D., that is, within seventy years of the death of Jesus Christ, and in the lifetime of at least some believers who had seen Him in the flesh." Most importantly, the Gospel of Mark "was written not more than forty years after the death of Christ," and "may have been written considerably earlier." This dating is of immense importance. Whereas the Tubingen school held that the gospel narrative had evolved out of the life of the early Church, and reflected not history but disputes within the early community (and so "would have allowed us no more than the echoes of early conflicts and tendencies in the primitive Church, from which we could pick up faint gleams and shadows of a real Jesus of Nazareth"), the earlier dating rules out such an evolution. What disputes did occur took place after the narrative was established.

Not only must the key documents be accorded an early date, but they were written *as history,* by writers who knew what a historical fact is, and to whom history was of supreme importance. According to modern scholarship, it "was of immense importance to the Christian that the later acts of God, like the earlier [in the Old Testament], were acts of God in history." Or again: "When the historian approaches the Gospels, the first thing that strikes him is the extraordinary fidelity with which they have reproduced, not the conditions of their own time, but the conditions of Palestine in the time and during the ministry of Christ."

Thus, if the older theory held that the Gospels had evolved over an extended period, and that they were in large part myths or fictions designed

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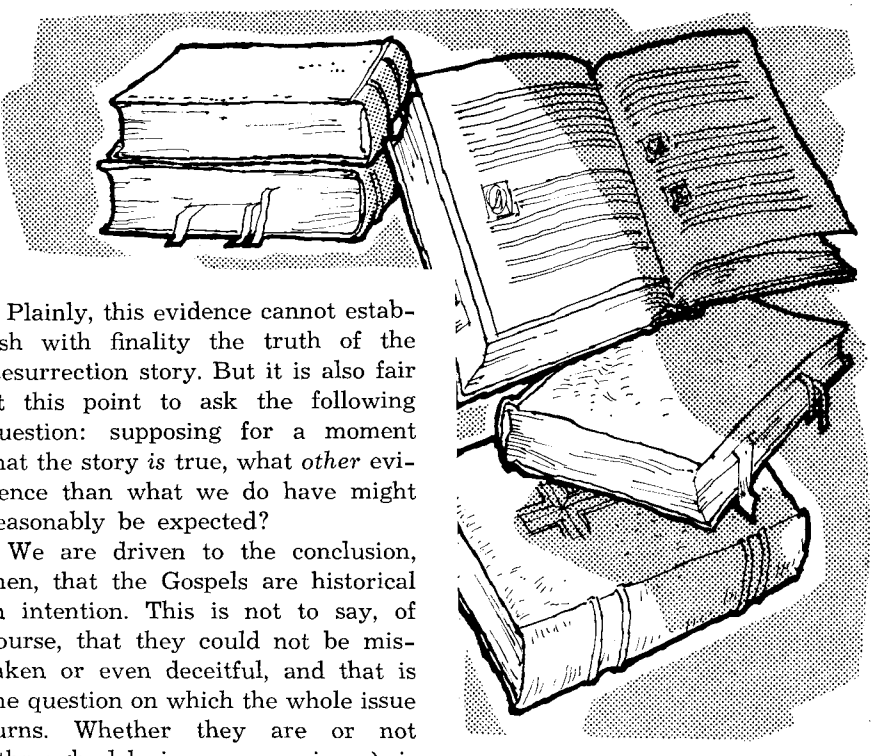
for the edification of the early Christian community, we now know that they were of very early date, that the incidents they describe were well known before they were written down, that in the ethos of the community history was crucially important, and that a scrupulous regard was held for protecting the narrative from accretion or distortion. Finally, we know that the narrative was written down because the community was turning outward to the world, and was intended for people who did not know the living local tradition.

As for the Resurrection story itself, which is absolutely decisive for Christianity, and for which the so-called biographies of Strauss, Renan and others had offered purely naturalistic explanations (thus moving, said Arnold, in the right direction), the best recent study is by Hans Freiherr von Campenhausen of the University of Heidelberg. In his *Tradition und Leben: Krafte der Kirchengeschichte* (1960) he includes a lengthy study of the Resurrection narratives. He attaches great weight to the historical evidence of I *Corinthians* 15, pointing out that the epistle was probably written in 56 A.D., less than thirty years after the Crucifixion, and that Paul, in touch with the leaders of the Church in Jerusalem, would hardly have confined his conversations with them to the issue of whether Gentiles should be taken into the Church. Von Campenhausen concludes that probably no more than ten years had passed between the Resurrection itself and the day on which Paul received first-hand information concerning the events of Christ's life from those who had direct knowledge of them. It is this knowledge that he claims to have transmitted to the Corinthians when he led them to Christ.* "It is only rarely," observes Stephen Neill, "that we have such good historical evidence for anything in the ancient world."

*Here is the relevant passage in Knox's translation: "The chief message I handed on to you, as it was handed on to me, was that Christ, as the scriptures foretold, died for our sins; that he was buried, and then, as the scriptures foretold, rose again on the third day. That he was seen by Cephas, then by the eleven apostles, and afterward by more than five hundred of the brethren at once, most of whom are alive at this day, though some have gone . . . and if Christ has not risen, then our preaching is groundless. Worse still, we are convicted of giving false testimony about God."



Plainly, this evidence cannot establish with finality the truth of the Resurrection story. But it is also fair at this point to ask the following question: supposing for a moment that the story *is* true, what *other* evidence than what we do have might reasonably be expected?

We are driven to the conclusion, then, that the Gospels are historical in intention. This is not to say, of course, that they could not be mistaken or even deceitful, and that is the question on which the whole issue turns. Whether they are or not (through delusion or conspiracy) is precisely the question the individual judgment must face, asking the questions normally applied to any testimony: number of witnesses, their agreement or lack of it, their character and credibility (i.e. are they reliable on other matters?), and so on. We will see how C. S. Lewis' judgment operated here. But the Gospels are not myth, and they are not mainly a reflection of Church history. In this sense, sober modern scholarship leads one to an attitude toward the Gospels which, oddly enough, is closer to the traditional view of them—to the view, say, of Dr. Johnson or Newman —than to that of Strauss or Renan or Arnold.**

This is not to say for a moment, of course, that the great critical effort of the nineteenth century, all the science of Tubingen, was in vain. It possessed, to be sure, perhaps more than its share of the pathos that so often surrounds our enterprises. One thinks back on Ferdinand Bauer (1792-1860), a heroic figure, tireless, at his desk by four every morning, turning out in his mature years 16,000 pages of scholarly prose—the equivalent of a 400-page book every year for 40 years—yet led by false assumptions "into error on every principal point of New Testament criticism." That there is something ghastly about this does not need to be said. And to the extent that scholarly error, eloquently diffused by *literati*, helped to create a climate of opinion dismissive on mistaken grounds of Christian claims, then the critical movement must be said to have had tragic effects. Throughout the nineteenth century, indeed, the whole enterprise appeared baneful not only to the benighted but to men of sensitive conscience as well. Still, despite the fact that it made egregious mistakes and often created a misleading impression, we may see that through raising key questions the critical movement transformed the study of the Bible. Today we know more about the text, about the date and mode of its composition, about the meaning of key words and passages, and about the life of the early Church, than would have been possible without the critical movement. And if it has issued not in the destruction or de-mythologization of the Bible but in a strengthened sense

One would not guess from their paperback sales that the more recent anti-historical approaches to the Gospels, those of Barth and Bultmann, as well as of the so-called Form Critics, have been dealt with devastatingly. See the relevant chapters in Neill, as well as **The Study of the Synoptic Gospels by Augustin Cardinal Bea (London, 1965). The attitude of both Barth and Bultmann has been conditioned by the tactics of preaching: Bultmann wishes to give the narrative an existentialist meaning, and Barth deliberately turns away from the historical question in order to purify and heighten the act of "faith." As for the Form Critics, some of their basic axioms, upon which their whole approach depends, have simply been shown to be false.

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of its value as historical evidence, then that is simply another of those ironies of which history is so fertile.

But this conclusion remains, I think it is fair to say, "specialized knowledge." It would not be known to the average professor of sociology or of English, let alone in the marketplace. It is not known to Mr. Edmund Wilson. Given this situation, C. S. Lewis, and before him G. K. Chesterton, had a vital and indeed unprecedented function to perform. They are, so to speak, *substitutes* for tradition. Until modern times, the majority of people received their knowledge of religious matters by a kind of cultural osmosis. Philosophical conclusions and doctrinal significance reached them through ceremony and sermon, custom and observance. They did not have to be scholars or reasoners to stand in some kind of relationship to specialized knowledge and to the insights of genius. But this condition no longer obtains. Not only does the life of the community no longer incorporate religious knowledge, but the churches themselves, in consequence of the cultural situation, too often have little intellectual vitality. I myself have heard only half a dozen sermons that were not outright insults to the intelligence of those who heard them. Indeed, a kind of historical reversal has taken place. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the majority of people were Christians and were in a vital relationship with a continuous tradition. They actually knew a great deal about religious doctrine. If they did not always understand, they nevertheless read, the Bible. At the same time, a few advanced thinkers were skeptics. Today the masses, especially in the great cities, are quite cut off from tradition and know very little about Christianity even when they profess it. A great many are indifferent. The clergy seem more and more driven to making fantastic statements in order to attract attention, or perhaps through simple ignorance on their own part. But today, a number of advanced thinkers are Christians. The Victorian situation has been reversed. These circumstances define Lewis' role. "In the conditions produced by a century or so of Naturalism . . . we must get the truth ourselves or go without it."

A moment ago, I spoke of the "surprises" that constantly emerge in Lewis' writing. But I was far from meaning that he invents things, or that he introduces doctrinal novelty. No one could be less like the current Bishop of Woolwich or the current Bishop of San Francisco. In *The Screwtape Letters*, he notices the Vicar "who has been so long engaged in watering down the faith to make it easier for a hard-headed congregation that it is now he who shocks his parishioners with his unbelief, not vice versa." The point is worth stressing, and not only because of the comic Bishops of Woolwich and San Francisco. Only recently, the Dean of St. Paul's in London tacitly but unmistakably stated that the historicity of the Resurrection is neither here nor there, despite the fact that St. Paul had written: "if Christ has not risen, then our preaching is groundless. Worse still, we are convicted of giving false testimony about God."

Some years ago I happened to be attending a course of lectures on modern literature at a university in Boston. The lecturer was extremely good, he was devoted to modern literature, he was an atheist, and, not necessarily in consequence, he was far to the Left politically. As the weeks went by, he found himself increasingly embarrassed by the *Christianity* of so many of the writers he had to deal with, and whose works he loved. At long last he broke off the lecture and addressed the class personally and angrily. The class was made up of college students, for the most part Irish Roman Catholics from the Boston area. It was clear that he knew the writers in question better than anyone who was listening to him. "See here," he said, "these men, Eliot and Lewis and Tate and the others—*they* don't believe what *you* believe: Heaven, Hell, the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection and all that. For *them* it's only a system of symbolism, a way of disciplining *feeling*."

No, it is not. Doctrinal differences aside—Lewis was an Anglican—and taking into account differences in erudition and intellectual power, Lewis believed precisely what those students believed, and in the same literal way. He knew what symbolism is, and he knew when symbolic language is being used, and he knew that men in the past had known this too; but he did not consider as symbolic the supernatural events of the Gospels, or the doctrines of the Virgin Birth and the Incarnation, and he did not think the doctrine of the afterlife a myth. The Bishop of California has recently announced that he has "given up" belief in the Virgin Birth. But Lewis, in his clear-minded way, knows what the issue really is, and he knows that the Advance of Science does not affect it one way or the other. We do know more about biology than St. Joseph did, but, on the point in question, he knew as well as we do the way in which infants ordinarily are conceived. He did not consider that what had happened was anything other than extraordinary. The real question at issue here is of presuppositions—i.e. is the universe the kind of place in which miracles can occur? The Spirit of the Age answers No, and many Liberal clergymen tacitly agree, even though, as Lewis says, if this is the case then "the claim which Christianity has been making for the last two thousand years is simply false." But in his very convincing book on the subject of miracles, Lewis faces the philosophical issue squarely, and answers Yes—on the evidence, the universe is that kind of place. Reflection can liberate one from a thoroughgoing naturalism. And while Lewis thought that "it is easier to argue, on historical grounds, that the Incarnation actually occurred than to show, on philosophical grounds, the probability of its occurrence," he also saw that the "historical difficulty of giving for the life, sayings and influence of Jesus any explanation that is not harder than the Christian, is very great. The discrepancy between the depth and sanity and (let me add) *shrewdness* of His moral teaching and the rampant megalomania which must lie behind His theological teaching unless He is God, has never been satisfactorily got over. Hence the non-Christian hypotheses succeed one another with the restless fertility of bewilderment." As for the Resurrection, some of the historical evidence for which we have touched upon a moment ago, Lewis believed that, far from being a myth, it had occurred in history—in the same sense as, say the Battle of Waterloo had occurred

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Flawed Giant

GARRY WILLS

The long decline and fall of the British Empire began, as the even longer declension of Rome had, with an influx of Oriental fantasies and new religions, and exotic attempts at escape from the weight of responsibility, from the task of upholding the fabric. It was signaled as early as 1860, when Edward Fitzgerald created his *art nouveau* Omar while Tennyson was still elaborating the mildly racy medievalism of his Guinevere-Victoria and Lancelot-Albert. The transition was accomplished, or reaching consummation, by the eighties and nineties—the transition from stiff collar to velvet jacket, from *Cornhill* to *The Yellow Book,* from Browning's syntactical perversity to Swinburne's moral solecisms, from Arnold's scholasticism of culture to Symons' scholasticism of the artifact. From Erastianism to Theosophy, the Oxford Movement to the Psychical Research Society. From Ruskin to Pater to Wilde; from Constable to Rossetti to Beardsley; from Watts to Whistler.

The arts did not lapse or fail, but broke wildly out of orbit, treating the civilization as irrelevant—not worth criticizing, not worth noticing. Like the air, it had become invisible, men forgot they needed it; until, isolated in their new little rooms, they began to asphyxiate themselves with their own breathing. The aesthetes were too "original" to borrow the common air.

Perhaps the most insistent burrower into all the odd corners of the eighties was a blindingly handsome, slim musical-voiced young Irishman who looked like a red-bearded Christ, lived austerely as the Baptist, flirted like Don Juan, wrote and spoke a prose of classical lucidity and precision, and had an infallible instinct for finding and joining any group of serious or crackpot radicals. He was a vegetarian anti-vivisectionist teetotaler feminist Fabian Hyde-Park orator and Trafalgar-Square demonstrator. He had a thousand causes—as quintessential Ibsenite, perfect Wagnerian, as the true Marxian or Nietzschean. He was against such humane institutions as coffee, tea, cigarettes, mothers, Christianity, and Shakespeare. He promoted "health clothes," Nerve Training, and spelling reform. He was a leading light or lecturer for the Secularist Society, the Shelley Society, the Free Thought Society, the Anarchists. He cheered on the women who thought their only way of getting ensuffraged was to make themselves insufferable. He helped the Fabians recover from Annie Besant's defection to the Orient. He coached the Ibsen-Shaw actress (Florence Farr) who, as the high-priestess of the Golden Dawn Society, changed her name to "Sapientia Sapienti Dono Data" and who died running a Hindu girls' school in Ceylon. He was only at home, it seems, among fanatics; yet he was an implacable foe of humbug.

At meeting after meeting, he must have been the one real critic in a horde of cranks—because he was the one Irishman there. His fellows were escaping the tortured "imperturbability" of Victorians by inventing a newer and narrower ethic, replacing the code of the ruler with that of the aesthete or contemplative or vague rebel. But Shaw was probably looking for a code by which to rule. He was not running away from large responsibilities but toward them. His father was a drunkard, whom Shaw kept from despising only by killing all feeling toward him. His mother was a stage-struck coloratura who for years kept a Dickensian music-master about the house, Mr. Mantilini, with a pitch pipe—a fact that made Shaw suspect that *this* scoundrel may have been his father, not the *other* one. When "George" was sixteen, she ran away with her music man for England, leaving young Shaw to live with his deteriorating father and a dreary office job.

When Shaw, at the age of nineteen, came to England and helped finish off the Victorian age, he came searching for his own Victorianism. He had a voracious appetite for self-denial, work, causes, high visions, noble sacrifice. He was half-a-century too late to find in Macaulay and Arnold his true comrades, who also lived on such abstract appetites. By a Shavian bit of historical plotting, Fate made this monk of mockery, this water-inspired crusader, become the ally of cynics and aesthetes, the friend of Wilde, the close associate of Frank Harris.

GBS: "He was only at home, it seems, among fanatics; yet he was an implacable foe of humbug."

Bernard Shaw: Collected Letters, 1874-1897, edited by Dan H. Laurence. Dodd, Mead, $12.50

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This first volume of the letters covers Shaw's hard two decades of London apprenticeship, during which, while doing odd jobs of acting and lecturing, he ran through four literary careers before he hit upon the one that would make him famous. He began by writing five novels which were vegetarian fare indeed after the feasts served up by Dickens (who died six years before Shaw's arrival in London). His letters contain the relentless hope, the nervous dignity, of a man who is accepting rejection after rejection by publisher after publisher of book after book. His second career was a spotty one, as art critic (mainly for *The World* from 1886 to 1889) in this era of aesthetes. (Shaw himself had been in art school for a while during his dizzy years of aborted education.) The third career brought him a *succès d'estime,* and his first regular income, as "Corno di Basetto," music critic for *The Star* (1888-90) and *The World* (1890-94). His fourth career—as drama critic for the *Saturday Review* from 1895 to 1898—took him deeper into the world of the theater, where he lived the rest of his long life.

HE POURED tremendous energies into these careers, yet still had fresh springs to tap when, at the age of 36, he wrote his first play. He made a resolution that he would write six plays before he was 40, and then wrote eight. As this first volume ends, he is completing his dramatic apprenticeship; he is on the verge of success, of marriage, of becoming an institution. The next three volumes of the correspondence will be interesting, but Shaw the man will perhaps never again be so appealing as in these years of expanding powers, breathless activity, fierce integrity, when, as he puts it, London was a fortress he had to batter down all alone: "Then in, sword in hand."

Most of the letters are to actresses —to Janet Achurch (who slides, while Shaw watches in horror, disastrously down to alcohol and drugs); to Florence Farr (later the Vedantist of the Golden Dawn); and, in the famous series still accelerating as this volume ends, to Ellen Terry. As a literary flirt, Shaw reveals his weakest side—the "charm" which (typical Irishman) he turned on to mask fear and irresponsibility. He was a bohemian puritan, brought up in theatrical circles, a Nicholas Nickleby

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amid the Crummles. His contempt for the stage was mixed with fascination; he could not leave it behind, though he could turn it into a pulpit. In the same way, he had to tease himself by teasing the beautiful women who butterflied all about him, Ibsenite-Gibsonite "new women" with the oldest of objects in mind—actresses, artists, earnest young Fabians. He justified his empty literary wooing by energetically "improving" its objects. With most, he was glib and elusive, though one older woman finally slipped past his defenses and, when he was 29, made him "lose his virginity" (as he always put it, with characteristic clinicism). The cruelty with which he led some of these girls on he defended with his myth of the predatory monster-Mother, against whom every and any weapon must be used.

HERE IS THE GIANT'S FLAW—and a giant flaw it is. Like Dr. Johnson, Shaw makes his impact by his personality. He is good at many things, but not contained within any of them, —not even in the plays, whose prefaces point outward from the artifact to the artist's entire "presentation." We keep thinking that—as with Johnson—the whole must be more than the sum of partial glimpses we get from his music criticism, Shakespeare essays, economic sermons, plays, or letters (brilliant as all these are). But the X-ray vision that pierces all the heart's humbug comes to look, finally, right past the heart itself. Shaw's clear eye is his greatest gift; but after a while we begin to wish that it were dimmed, for a moment, with love or hate, that it were made even stronger by a weakness or two. The laughter that is a quenchless fountain in these early decades will rattle on for another half-century, dryer and dryer, fading as a disembodied cackle. The whole is *less* than the sum of its parts.

Curbing Bureaucracy

GORDON TULLOCK

DURING the last millennium the governments of Imperial China normally maintained officials called "censors" who had the duty of correcting the errors of the regular governmental bureaucracy. In 1713, when the Enlightenment fad for things Chinese was well developed, the King of Sweden appointed a "Chancellor of Justice" with duties somewhat similar to those of the Imperial censors. Whether this represented an attempt to copy the Chinese is one of the few relevant matters not discussed in *The Ombudsman.* The office still exists and still performs its protective function, but since 1809 it has been supplemented by an Ombudsman. In recent years this institution has been adopted by Denmark, Norway, New Zealand and West Germany (the German Ombudsman is solely concerned with the armed forces). Further, there has been a good deal of interest in the idea of an Ombudsman in the United States and the English speaking part of the British Commonwealth. Professor Rowat's book, therefore, will be of considerable help in assessing a current political problem.

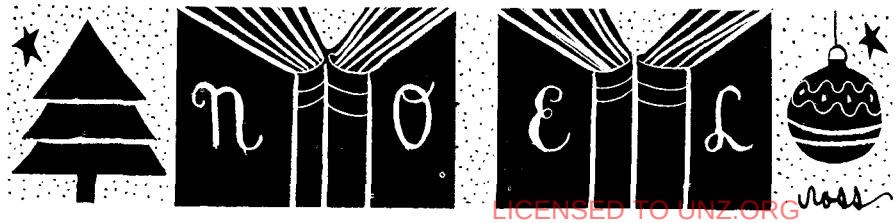
The Ombudsman, by Donald C. Rowat. University of Toronto Press, $8.25

The book is a collection of essays by different authors, some of them Ombudsmen. Although most of the authors are favorably disposed toward the institution of Ombudsman, their approach is more factual than argumentative. The book begins with descriptions of existing systems and certain institutions, like the Inspector-General in the U. S. Army, which the editors feel are similar to Ombudsmen. A number of proposals for the establishment of Ombudsmen in countries, such as the United States, where they do not now exist are then outlined. A collection of ten essays by ten authors follows under the heading "Applicability Elsewhere." The title is somewhat misleading since some of the authors favor and some oppose Ombudsmen and the essays are arranged to form an implicit debate on the desirability of setting up such a system in the United States, the Commonwealth, and France. Statistics on existing Ombudsmen systems and three drafts of Ombudsmen laws are included in appendices.

The authors of these essays fairly frequently say that the Ombudsman is desirable because of the great expansion of governmental functions, but the Swedish Ombudsman seems to have performed valuable services in the nineteenth century long before the development of the modern administrative state. Partly as a result of this history, the Swedish Ombudsman and Chancellor of Justice consider the activities of judges within their purview and criticize judicial decisions, sometimes force reversals of rulings, and even initiate prosecutions against judges for misconduct.

There are two other rather ancient protections of the citizen in Sweden which are mentioned in passing in *The Ombudsman,* but which might well be the subject of future books. In the United States a private citizen who injures others by mistake is liable to legal action for damages and, in some cases, criminal prosecution. A government official, acting in his official capacity, who causes injury to someone else through a mistake is protected, although he is theoretically subject to suit if malice can be proved. In Sweden the administrator who injures a citizen by an erroneous decision is subject to suit. Another protection, dating from 1766, is a law making practically all government documents available for inspection, not only by parliament, but by anyone who is curious. The contrast between this and "executive privilege" as interpreted by President Johnson is particularly striking.

The point of the Ombudsman, of course, is to provide the citizen some protection against administrative arbitrariness. It is interesting that the Unions of Civil Servants tend to oppose the establishment of an Om-



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budsman or try to pare down his powers. Partly as a result of pressure from civil servants, the Ombudsmen recently appointed by Denmark, Norway and New Zealand are much weaker than the centuries-old Swedish model. Nevertheless, the reduction of administrative arbitrariness is merely a mediate objective, not a final goal. Surely the arbitrary way that many of our government policies are applied is harmful, but the policies themselves are frequently more so. There are even situations where an Ombudsman by insisting on strict adherence to the spirit of the law may make the situation worse (*Cf.* p. 90). Still, if we are presently unable to fire civil servants, putting restrictions, even comparatively weak restrictions, on their ability to behave arbitrarily is surely desirable.

The real problem we face is the overexpansion of governmental powers. The fact that lower-level officials sometimes use these powers in ways that their superiors would not approve is a much less important defect in our present system. The Ombudsman can deal only with this comparatively minor problem. This is not, of course, an argument against the institution of the Ombudsman, only against undue enthusiasm.

'His Object All Sublime . . .'

J. DANIEL MAHONEY

JUDGE CHARLES WYZANSKI was a leading graduate of the Harvard Law School class of 1930 and one of the brightest of the bright young men of the New Deal, arguing for the

Whereas—A Judge's Premises, by Charles E. Wyzanski Jr. Little Brown, $6.75

Solicitor General before the Supreme Court many of the epochal cases concerning the constitutionality of New Deal legislation. For many years, he has been a Federal District Court Judge for the District of Massachusetts. By his own assessment, he is "a typical trained mind moving with the stream that carried America, and especially American law, from the last vestige of its colonial period into a place of paramount power in the modern world."

Judge Wyzanski's is, indeed, an able and trained mind, and his credentials as a spokesman for contemporary Liberalism are in impeccable order. In these "essays in judgment, ethics, and the law," collected from his public utterances over a period of thirty years, he provides us with a fairly systematic statement of the Liberal creed, and an opportunity to remind ourselves where, and why, conservatives regard that creed as inadequate to our nation's needs.

LET'S BEGIN WITH Judge Wyzanski's view of the law. "We have turned," he says, "from a profession which was, because of its worship of precedent, primarily a backward-looking profession to a forward-looking profession concerned with consequences. And ours is as new a logic as Dewey's or Russell's in comparison with Aristotle. We have moved into an entirely new method of thinking." As a consequence, we find a "greater willingness of judges to disregard precedents in all types of cases."

Probably nothing has done more to diminish public respect for the law, and most especially for our Supreme Court, than this tendency. The feeling is abroad (without justification, according to our author) that "the nature of American law has been fundamentally altered, that it has lost its characteristics of certainty and stability and has escaped from the bonds of professional discipline and into the unrestrained area of politics."

Judge Wyzanski makes a related point in another essay, observing that "51 per cent of those now living have the final right to determine our form of government." Obviously, this postulate is drawn not from the amending clause of our Constitution, with which a Federal District Court Judge may be presumed to have some familiarity, but from the wellsprings of Liberal ideology. At the margin, in other words, it is ideology and not the law which carries the day. Thus, the provisions of the Constitution which protect cherished Liberal values (the civil liberties of defendants in criminal cases, for example) are extended and amplified; other

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portions of the Constitution are relegated to the antiquarians. Let me note in passing that the colonial lawyers whose "worship" of "precedent" Judge Wyzanski deprecates performed superbly as a "forward-looking profession concerned with consequences" at the Constitutional Convention of 1787. They were also aware of the difference between a constitutional convention and a court, a subject to which our law schools might profitably devote some attention.

These essays touch on "judgment" and "ethics," as well as "the law." In so doing they advance the standard metaphysics (if that is the right word) of the Liberal position. Judge Wyzanski is unprepared "to return to the bosom of an orthodox church, there to imbibe a revealed religion." "We believe," he says, "that in the world of the ideal, as well as in the world of fact, the door to further inquiry must never be closed. Any dogmatism is, by definition, unacceptable, [for] "the journey of man on earth must always be in terms of search rather than discovery."

Now there is dogmatism, pure and simple. Had Judge Wyzanski explained that he had studied the case for a particular revealed religion and found it unconvincing, there would be something to discuss. He will not undertake such an inquiry, however, because any positive conclusions would "by definition" be "unacceptable," whatever the evidence in their favor. Carrying these principles into the realm of the social order, Judge Wyzanski explains that the "final glory of the democratic life . . . is that democracy keeps every door open to searchers for ultimate values, and demolishes every irrelevant barrier standing athwart the oncoming adventurers in ideas." Continuity, stability, a consensus concerning the ultimate allegiances of a society, all must yield to the spirit of unrestrained speculation and experimentation against which Burke inveighed so mightily.

And yet, Judge Wyzanski concedes, "now as we come face to face with a threat of a strictly materialist philosophy from the Communist states, we are on the verge of spiritual bankruptcy. And indeed nothing reveals this more clearly than our attempt to treat as though they were spiritual principles the political maxims of democratic liberalism—maxims which are and were meant to be negative restraints on abuse of power, not affirmations of the ultimate ends of men." His solution is "religious faith" ("more than a creed, a commandment, a metaphysical scheme—that inner compulsion persuading us that we are implicated in an enveloping mystery"), together with an "attempt to derive from the detail of your daily work a set of principles and values which will give not merely your calling and your career, but your character that kind of style that does you honor."

One of the problems of contemporary Liberalism is an intoxication

Random Notes

● Movies (*Definite*): Already shot, and set for general release in Fall '66, is *Cast a Giant Shadow,* wherein Kirk Douglas plays Col. Mickey Marcus—West Point graduate who wound up a hero of the Israeli war of independence. Angie Dickinson and Luther Adler support; cameo bits by Frank Sinatra, Yul Brynner and John Wayne. . . . More on *Return of the Seven,* sequel to *The Magnificent Seven*: shooting will start (in Spain) February 1, with Burt Kennedy directing; so far, only Brynner will return from the cast of the original. . . . Due for February release over here is *Fog,* British-made flick involving S. Holmes with Jack the Ripper. . . . Scary goings-on in Cornwall are treated in *Manutara,* ready to go with Lawrence Huntington in charge; Robert Hutton, Broderick Crawford and Akim Tamiroff in the cast. . . . *The Night of the Generals* will star Peter O'Toole, be directed by Anatole Litvak. Locations in Poland and Berlin are being scouted. . . . Sammy Davis Jr. will star in *A Man Called Adam,* now shooting in New York. Leo Penn directs; also cast are Ossie Davis, Louis Armstrong and Frank Sinatra Jr. . . . Mr. Moto is back, having weathered the recent unpleasantness. Henry Silva takes over where Lorre left off, in *The Return of Mr. Moto,* already in theaters.

● Movies (*Maybe*): Warner Bros. has rights to Donald MacKenzie's *Lonely Side of the River* and Mailer's *An American Dream;* finished screenplay of *Rabbit, Run;* are bidding for Duerrenmatt's *The Quarry.* . . . George Pal has arranged for an adaptation of *Peer Gynt,* to be made as a "tragicomic adventure": with music by E. Grieg. . . . Fellini plans *The Appian Way* for next spring, and is angling for Edie Adams to star. . . . A corporation has been formed to make *The Maurice Chevalier Story;* first draft includes 30 of his songs.

● More TV Trends: Watch for the Carol Burnett special: CBS, February; Nat Hiken will produce and write it. . . . Bill Cosby gets a one-man special next season. . . . Jack Webb may revive *Dragnet* for a two-hour NBC one-shot next season. . . . Other two-hour features in the works are Roger Corman's *World of James McNeill Whistler; The Iron Horse* with Dale Robertson and Diana Hyland; *The Day It Was Night,* about a NYC blackout (coincidence). . . . On a drearier note, Dick Clark has *another* project: a Saturday morning kiddie thing called *The A-Go-Ghouls.* . . . The *Peyton Place* rating slide brings the shelving of two imitations at CBS: *Sunset Boulevard* and *East of Eden.*

● The Higher Lunacy: P. O'Toole wants to play Shylock. On Broadway. . . . Outlanders must rush to NYC's Gallery of Modern Art for the new retrospective film series, *A Tribute to Busby Berkeley.* . . . Sean Connery will record a narration of *Peter and the Wolf.* . . . Somebody, *please* let us know who won 20th Century's "World-Wide Doris Day Look-Alike Contest"!

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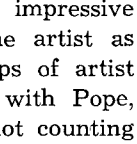
with language for its own sake. I am afraid that Judge Wyzanski is badly bitten by this bug, and it heads off any real confrontation of the man with his "premises." Unfortunately, his premises are also to a dominant degree our nation's premises. The ultimate challenge to conservatism is not any particular political campaign or social reform, but the replacement of these premises by the traditional learning of the West. This will take some doing. As an initial contribution to the undertaking, I propose to send Judge Wyzanski the collected works of Eric Voegelin.

Movies in Brief

RICHARD HODGENS

THE AGONY AND THE ECSTASY. Agony almost, ecstasy no. The title refers to Love, and the hero, Michelangelo (Charlton Heston), is presented as a classic case of sublimation. A pretty Medici lass (Diane Cilento) waits patiently, but he has only paint in his veins, and presumably only marble in his breast. He is also presented as an instrument of God, and while she waits he quarrels with the Pope (Rex Harrison) over the Sistine ceiling, and finally gets it covered. The high point of this spectacle comes when Michelangelo falls off the scaffold. Most of the rest, including that moment when the Pope almost falls off, too, does not quite come off. But from this 150-minute block of a film (counting intermission), a good editor might cut a fairly impressive ninety minutes about the artist as God, and the relationships of artist with patron, of subject with Pope, and of both with God—not counting those discussions of the meaning of things. Carol Reed produced and directed. He should have left it unfinished.

JULIET OF THE SPIRITS. 8½ in color. Federico Fellini wonders whether his audience will understand, because much of the symbolism is personal; but nobody understood 8½, and the implication that he himself understands this one is absurd. To be sure, there is a story for the symbols to hang from, and the story thuds across clearly enough. Giulietta (Giulietta Masina) is a rather childish woman who lives in a doll-house. Her husband is leaving her. This takes him over 130 minutes. Meanwhile, she sees personally symbolic visions. There is a happy ending, though; finally, she just hears voices. Her spirits cannot often be distinguished from the rest of the cast; both protoplasm and ectoplasm come in very fancy dress, and Giulietta sees things —everything—in a most peculiar way. Fellini is wearing his glamorous, wacky vision very thin, but if we must have sustained irrationality, he is the man to sustain interest in it. There are not many scenes here that are not good to watch. Too bad there are so few scenes good for anything else.



KWAIDAN. Three Japanese ghost stories, and more beauty than would seem possible, although its development may seem too deliberate from time to time in its stylized still-life, landscape and editing. A samurai deserts his wife, is haunted by memories, and finally haunted to death; a blind monk is called upon to sing praises of the noble dead, not suspecting the dangerous nature of his audience; and a guard sees the image of a man who is not there in a cup of tea, and rashly drinks. The ghosts are as fine as one could hope to see, but the living tend to over-react and the stories, adapted from Lafcadio Hearn, are rather cold conventionalities. The first is the best; the second is crippled by irrational development and comic relief; and the third is only a throwaway: "What an idea! I wish I could do something with it. . . ." But even the third has extraordinary imagery. Masaki Kobayashi directed.

THE LEATHER BOYS. An English adolescent (Colin Campbell), motorcyclist by avocation, can not get along with either his wife (Rita Tushingham) or his buddy (Dudley Sutton). He has good reasons, but he is not bright and it takes him a very long time to learn them. And that's the story. The treatment aspires to scathing wit at the expense of its mis-

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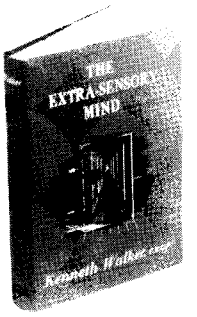

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guided, mismatched characters; if *The Leather Boys* overlooks ways of saying, This marriage cannot be saved, or, This friendship is really something else, fear of censorship must have done it. Once in a while, the film also aspires to sympathy. It must be very hard work, aping one's inferiors and trying to be nice about it, too. I can think of no reason for sitting through all this squirming about, except that everybody squirms well enough under Sidney Furie's direction.

KING RAT. The latest prison-camp movie, and the sort that does not merely attempt to depict behavior under special conditions, but goes on to suggest that the conditions and the behavior are not special, anyway: "I'm not just saying something, I'm saying everything." And *King Rat* is a long time saying it, too, in a diffuse jumble of episodes. The camp is Japanese, the prisoners American and English types. Among them are a conscienceless American profiteer (George Segal) who says "I'm not *people*," a decent sort of Tory (James Fox), whom he leads astray, a tired old superior (John Mills) who ignores everything as best he can, and an angry young Laborite (Tom Courtenay) who ends up saying "It's *our* turn, now," when the camp is liberated. I am sure it is all significant, but not sure what the Japanese represent. Although adapter-director Bryan Forbes emerges as another Stanley Kramer with this effort, he has contrived moments of some interest and a reasonable degree of conviction throughout.

RETURN FROM THE ASHES. One would say, Send it back, if it were not for its three principal players—earnest, elegant and charming as victims (Ingrid Thulin and Samantha Eggar) and villians (Samantha Eggar and Maximilian Schell) in a tiresome tissue of stupidities. J. Lee Thompson produced, and directed tolerably well until the denouement, when he tries to make something of it, instead of getting it over with as quickly as possible.

THE FACE OF FU MANCHU. It is good to see him again, but only on general principles; the new *Fu* is not as shoddy as the latest *She*, but then he had less to lose to begin with. "The world has not seen the last of Fu Manchu," he says himself (as I remember) after Nayland Smith blows him up And better luck next time.

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P.O. Box 1320, Washington, D.C., $1.25). Mr. Edwards and Mr. Catchpole have assembled a series of statements by the outstanding leaders of the civil rights movement, and presented them almost without comment. Indeed, what comment there is comes largely from well-known columnists and editors, most of them respected Liberals. While Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young emerge in the main as responsible and sober spokesmen, the words of the other leaders—men like John Lewis and Bayard Rustin—establish a revolutionary pattern which goes far beyond the justified grievances of the Negro people. Despite its non-editorialized presentation, the book projects a careful and responsible critique, devastatingly illuminating in its short compass.

F. S. MEYER

THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, by Hans Toch (Bobbs-Merrill, $6.50). The author maintains that the existence of food-faddists, Black Muslims, "dancers" in Arthur Murray's studios and Communists indicates that society is deficient. For, to paraphrase Toch, social movements are spawned as the result of formal society's inability or unwillingness to meet all the demands of its members. His book is primarily devoted to a discussion of the nature and attraction of this dissatisfied outgrowth: the social movement. As long as he confines himself to an examination of its psychology, his expressed purpose, the study is quite worthwhile, but, unfortunately, Toch also feels compelled to pass judgment. In so doing he displays the usual Liberal phobias: he does not like McCarthyism, the D.A.R. or any other past or present right-wing movement. He does, however, look favorably upon Castro's Revolution and Women Strike for Peace. Even so, his biased commentary does not appreciably detract from the qualities of research and evalution which make this book informative reading for those interested in the psychology of "social man." Next question is, should society attempt to meet *all* of the demands of its members . . . such as those belonging to the Nudist Convention?

T. P. DAVIS

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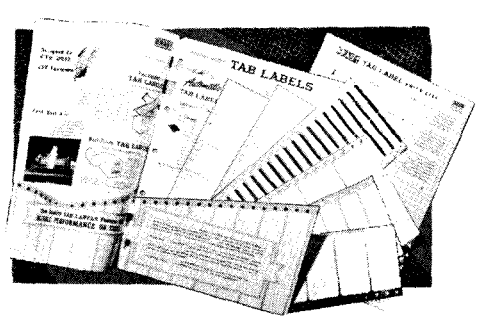

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1965

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TRANS-O-GRAM

by Svend Petersen

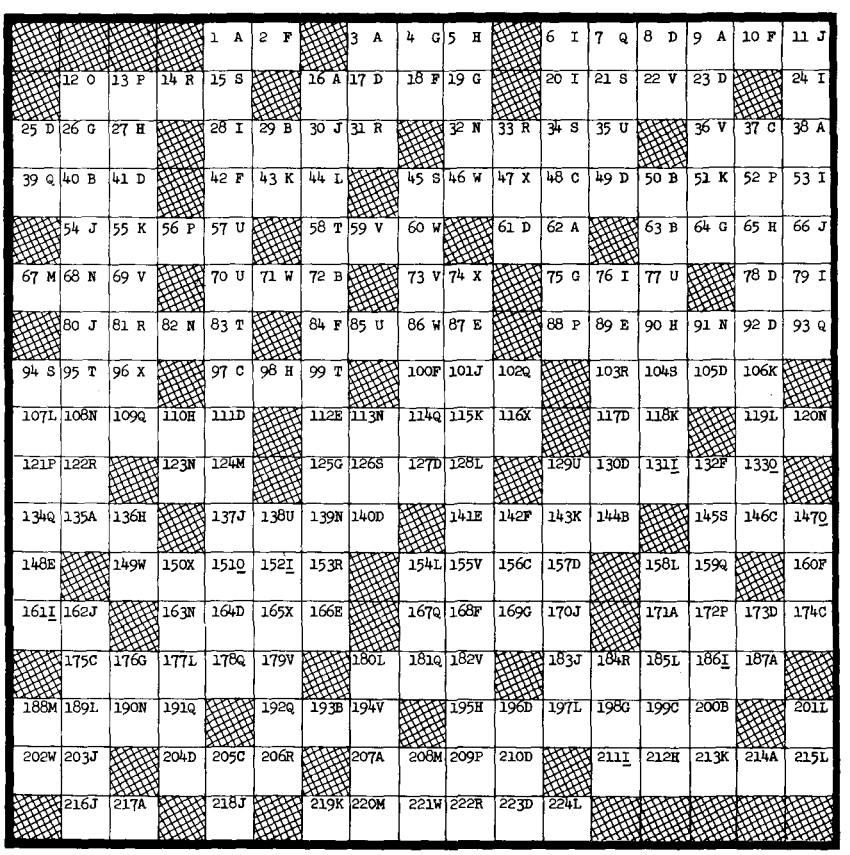
DEFINITIONS	WORDS
A. What many voters climb aboard (3 wds.)	3 135 9 207 1 214 187 171 38 16 / 62 217
B. Black grouse female (little more than a pagan) (2 wds.)	29 40 63 72 144 200 50 193
C. What the Master said to the deaf-mute (Mark 7:34)	37 48 174 199 175 97 156 205 146
D. What the angelic host said (Luke 2:14)	78 92 17 25 23 173 157 111 196 140 / 117 41 204 164 210 49 105 8 130 223 / 127 61
E. River in Oregon	87 112 166 141 89 148
F. Yes, Virginia, there is! (I won't say how many wds.)	100 142 18 42 160 132 10 168 84 2
G. Any observable facts or events	125 4 19 64 26 169 198 75 176
H. Pleasure	136 98 195 65 212 27 5 110 90
I. International law (3 wds.)	211 6 152 76 24 161 20 28 131 79 / 186 53
J. Latin title of Christmas carol (2 wds.)	218 162 30 11 66 80 183 216 203 101 / 137 170 54

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
K. An island in the Indian Ocean	115 43 51 213 106 143 219 55 118
L. He sent out a famous decree (2 wds.)	119 180 44 177 189 224 201 154 215 158 / 128 107 185 197
M. Midwestern city	124 188 208 67 220
N. A London tunnel	139 120 123 91 68 190 108 32 163 113 / 82
O. An Arab lateen-rigged vessel	147 133 151 12
P. Took in liquid	172 121 88 56 209 13 52
Q. What a creche represents (2 wds.)	181 192 134 109 39 114 178 191 159 167 / 93 7 102
R. The _____ shall be upon his shoulder (Isaiah 9:6)	222 184 81 122 14 33 31 206 153 103
S. What the oboe was formerly called (2 wds.)	34 104 15 45 94 126 21 145
T. River in France	58 99 95 83
U. Inside information (hyph.)	70 35 77 57 138 129 85
V. Clandestine (Klandestine?)	73 59 194 179 69 36 22 155 182
W. Name of two kings of Scotland	149 60 202 221 71 86 46
X. To entangle	165 150 96 47 74 116

See page 1179 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram.

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black lines indicating the end of a word); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition.



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For The Record

"Light Up for Freedom" is a major Young Americans for Freedom counterpunch to Vietniks. On Jan. 7, the South Vietnamese ambassador will light a "torch of freedom" at the Statue of Liberty. It will be carried to Independence Hall in Philadelphia for ceremonies in front of the Liberty Bell. Finale will be evening meeting at Washington's Constitution Hall, Sens. Dodd and Mundt, Admiral Arleigh Burke presiding. . . Student groups in India, Taiwan, Japan, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Korea, Australia, Thailand, and Vietnam will hold rallies in support of U.S. stand in Vietnam the same week. . . . Cornell has refused to allow Young Socialist League to set up booth in student building to solicit funds for Vietcong. . . . On West Coast, wives of three U-Cal professors (Berkeleynatch) were recent hostesses at a fund-raising party for the Vietcong. . . . Who should turn up at a recent rally in Berkeley to protest the war but Conor Cruise O'Brien, former UN gauleiter in Katanga, present superprofessor at NYU. . . . Caught in the middle: Robert McNamara. On one hand, some hards denounce him for what they fear is too-hasty scrapping of B-52 bombers, on the other, he's blasted by Worker as warmonger and "one of the most sinister men in America."

For first time in its history, N.Y. SANE has endorsed political candidate. He's Robert Schwartz, of Village Reform Democrats, who wants Democratic nomination for John Lindsay's congressional seat. Schwartz's entire pitch is peace in Vietnam. . . . Orin Lehman, another would-be congressman, has now joined the peaceniks (last July he signed a resolution approving LBJ's Vietnam policy). . . . Left-wing militants—both civil-righters and Vietniks—have called meeting in Chicago Jan. 15 to set up political organization. Aim: to play part in Illinois elections next year. . . . It's now certain Charles Percy will be Republican senatorial nominee in Illinois next year. Not so certain whether his old economics teacher, Sen. Paul Douglas, who is 73, will decide to go for a fourth term. . . . Another race to watch: Jan. 22 special congressional election in N.C. first district where a Republican, John East, insists on making it a two-party affair.

India went along with three other Asian countries (Philippines, Thailand, Free China) in blast in UN against Red China's atrocities in Tibet. It was

Daily Mirror, London — Ben Roth Agency

"I thought he'd turn up to demand sanctions against Rhodesia. . ."

first time in five years the UN has taken up Tibetan question. . . . A week earlier, Laotian delegate Kamchan Pradith had startled UNers by his violent attack on North Vietnamese military incursions in Laos. "Laos doesn't need a lesson in liberation from anyone," he said, "especially not anyone in Hanoi.". . . U.S. authorities in Bangkok say the current wave of assassinations of police and civil authorities in northern Thailand follows the pattern of Vietcong terrorism in Vietnam in 1958.

Yuk-Yuk Dept.: Remember that shipload of Rhodesian sugar U.S. authorities turned back a couple of weeks ago in a gesture of solidarity with Great Britain? Well—what do you know, it had already been paid for.

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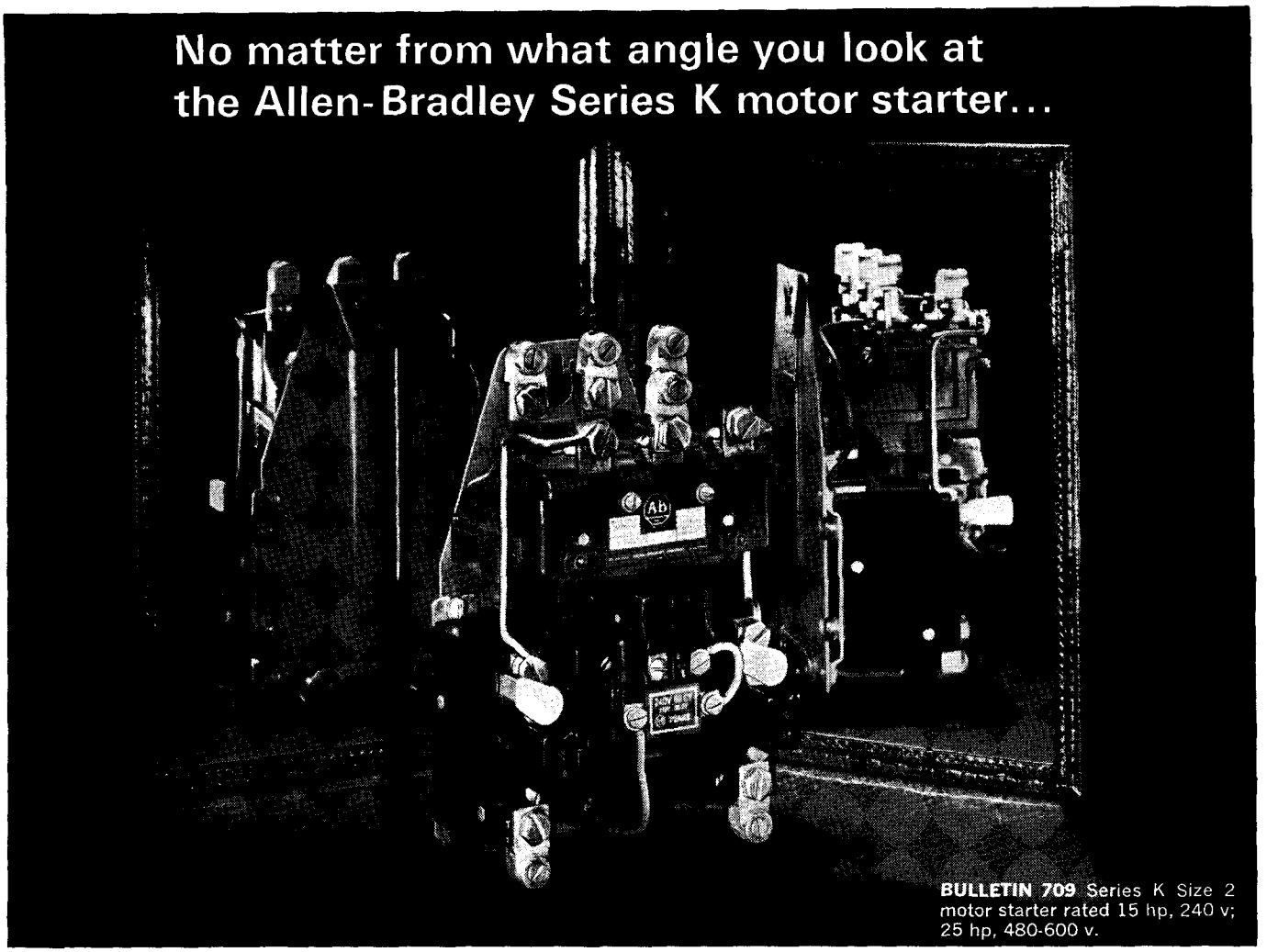
No matter from what angle you look at the Allen-Bradley Series K motor starter...



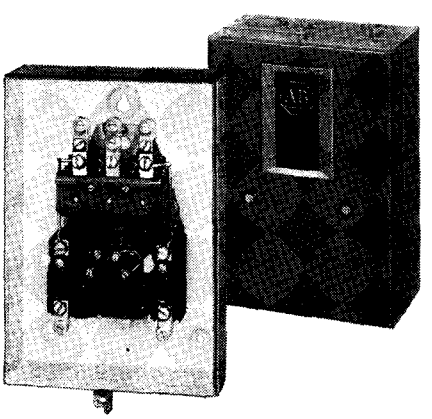
BULLETIN 709 Series K Size 2 motor starter rated 15 hp, 240 v; 25 hp, 480-600 v.

the lines are simple and clean—the mark of a "quality" starter

■ Consequently, Allen-Bradley Series K motors add a mark of "quality" to the machines which they operate. There's an industrial beauty to the control itself, as well as the enclosure, that carries a "family likeness" through the entire Series K line. Becoming acquainted with one starter automatically gives you an intimate knowledge of the entire line, including contactors, reversing switches, multi-speed starters, combination starters, etc.

Of course, a "quality performance" matches the starter's "quality look." All Series K starters use the justly famous Allen-Bradley solenoid design having only one moving part—so simple and so rugged, nothing can go wrong. This is your guarantee for many "extra" millions of trouble free operations. The failure-free record of the pressure molded coil makes possible our offer to exchange at "no cost" any such coil that fails in service while being operated at its nameplate specifications. Note also, that the weld-resistant cadmium oxide silver contacts will never need a moment's service attention.

You're not paying for such *extra* Series K quality—you're merely *getting more* for the control dollar which you spend with Allen-Bradley. Let your local Allen-Bradley appointed distributor take care of your control needs—he has been factory trained to be of service to you. Besides, he carries such a wide variety of A-B control in his local stock, it would be surprising if he could not take care of your every need. Allen-Bradley Co., 1210 S. Third Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53204. Export Office: 630 Third Avenue, New York, New York, U.S.A. 10017.



This shows the Bulletin 709 Series K Size 2 motor starter in a NEMA Type 1 enclosure. All Series K general and special purpose enclosures have the same attractive appearance—it reflects the true quality of the control. And the Allen-Bradley white interiors cut down on the installation time.

A-B

ALLEN-BRADLEY

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If you have a packaging or marketing problem, think aerosols. Consumers do.

You can probably prove it to yourself easily. Think how many aerosol products you and your family now use. And only 20 years ago, you didn't have a single aerosol container in your home.

Yes, aerosols have truly created a packaging—and marketing—revolution. This year, about 1½ billion units will be sold in the United States alone. By 1967 sales should soar to two billion or more.

If you're interested in joining the swing to aerosols, we can help you. As the world's largest producer of aerosol valves, with world-wide facilities and complete research services, we have helped ease the entry of many products into this vast new world of pushbutton convenience. Just write, wire or call. We'll be glad to talk about your product and its future in a distinctive aerosol.

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